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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GORDON,

ROYAL ENGINEERS, AND C.B.

From a Photograph given to the Editor by COL. GORDON, *9th July*, 1865.

GENERAL GORDON'S

PRIVATE DIARY

OF HIS

EXPLOITS IN CHINA;

AMPLIFIED

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BY

SAMUEL MOSSMAN,

EDITOR OF "THE NORTH CHINA HERALD" DURING GORDON'S SUPPRESSION OF THE TAI-PING REBELLION.

WITH PORTRAITS AND MAP.

London:
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE, & RIVINGTON,
CROWN BUILDINGS, 188, FLEET STREET.
1885.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Crown 8vo, 250 pp., with Illustrations and Map, 3s. 6d.

JAPAN

(*Foreign Countries and British Colonies Series*).

London:

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE, & RIVINGTON,

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PREFACE.

SEVERAL narratives have been published of General Gordon's career in China: how, by his military genius, he subdued the hordes of insurgents who had risen against the Imperial rule, under the title of Tai-pings, after devastating the provinces with fire and sword; how he took command of a Native Disciplined Force, called by the Chinese "The Ever-victorious Army," at a time when it was *not* victorious over the enemy, in consequence of the incapacity of its leaders; how he reorganized the force, and by his superior generalship in the first action recovered the prestige of the troops; how he speedily followed up this victory by successful engagements against the rebels in the pro-

vince of Kiang-soo, the central seat of the rebellion, and after a campaign of fifteen months completely crushed it out, thereby restoring the country to comparative peace; how from his humane disposition he bargained with the Imperial Governor for the lives of the leading rebels when they surrendered, and how they were treacherously beheaded, Gordon being offered a solatium in money to retain his services, which he refused with scornful indignation. These and other military exploits during his marvellous career in China have been treated more or less accurately, according as the writers derived their information from reliable sources, but without any personal knowledge of General Gordon or his actions in the battle-field.

Hence the numerous desultory accounts of "Chinese Gordon" are chiefly compiled from secondary information, frequently embellished by language, however laudatory, more akin to fiction than fact—a style the reverse to that of the heroic Gordon, which was always brief and plain. These characteristics are

especially seen in his private journal of the Tai-ping campaign, written by himself, which forms the text of the subject-matter in this unpretending volume, and now published in book form, with amplifications and illustrations, for the first time. It was presented to the author by Gordon, in his capacity as editor of the *North China Herald*, published at Shanghai, where he was resident at the time, for the purpose of furnishing in the columns of that journal an accurate account of the numerous engagements undertaken before the rebellion was stamped out.

Since then the author has treasured this document as the souvenir of a brave soldier, possessing gentle and humane accomplishments, in whom he perceived the germ of a great general—a prediction which has been fulfilled beyond precedent. This opinion was not merely entertained in private, but expressed in print, when commenting on the successful progress of the campaign under his generalship. These accounts, when they reached England, were received by the

public and the press in terms not flattering to Gordon. Most of the newspapers quoted the intelligence without making inimical comments, but some went so far as to style him a "mercenary soldier in the Chinese service, grasping at high pay and plunder." Though he did not resent the imputations by replying when the author pointed out the paragraphs, even in debates on China in Parliament, yet he seemed annoyed, and was pleased at their refutation by an experienced editor. When the close of the campaign came, after the decapitation of the Tai-ping chiefs at Soochow, the suicide of Hung-siu-tsuen, the originator of the rebellion at Nan-king, and Gordon had rejected the blood-money of 10,000 taels, the newspaper critics in England ceased to publish aspersions on his character.

However, there was a class of religious enthusiasts who looked upon the Tai-ping revolution as the precursor of Christian regeneration among the heathen Chinese. Some of the small volumes and pamphlets issued by these sympathizers, freely commented

adversely on Gordon's actions as not becoming a pious Christian, in stemming the tide of conversion in that benighted land. These were too frivolous to be taken notice of, but a pretentious book appeared in two octavo volumes, entitled, "Ti Ping Tien Kwo," embellished with numerous coloured illustrations, advocating the cause of the insurgents in their attempts to overthrow the "Pagan Tartar dynasty," and set up a "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace"—as the Chinese name denotes. As an example of its contents, the following foul aspersions against the reputation of Gordon will contrast with the recent lamentations over the massacred hero of Kartoum:—

"Unfortunately for the reputation of Major Gordon, since his elevation to the position of General of Futai Le's Anglo mercenaries, he had been too much accustomed to intrigue and encouragement of treachery to have felt a proper indignation at the Soo-chow affair; and it is possible he might have had some knowledge of the planned perfidy before it

was put into execution, and so was not sufficiently horrified to throw up his 1200 taels (400*l.*) per month. Gordon's behaviour in the treachery of the Burgevine-Ti-ping legion is one specimen, and a very strong one, too, of the conduct referred to. He induced the Europeans who went over to him to desert the Ti-ping cause by his promises of office, bribes, and safe conduct to Shanghai for such as were tired of fighting. Some mistaken individuals have ascribed this proceeding to the humane disposition of the man who condoned the ruthless massacre of his paroled prisoners, who assisted as the principal agent in the vast destruction of life and desolation of country during the unjustifiable British hostilities against the Ti-pings, and who never put himself to the trouble of saving the lives of those he assisted to vanquish."

Lord Tennyson's Epitaph on General Gordon.

Lord Tennyson has written the following epitaph for General Gordon in Westminster Abbey at the request of Mr. Whittier;—

"Warrior of God, man's friend, not here below,
But somewhere dead far in the waste Soudan;
Thou livest in all hearts, for all men know
This earth hath borne no simpler, nobler man."

Samuel Mossman.

Liverpool, 57, Vandyke St.,
June, 1885.

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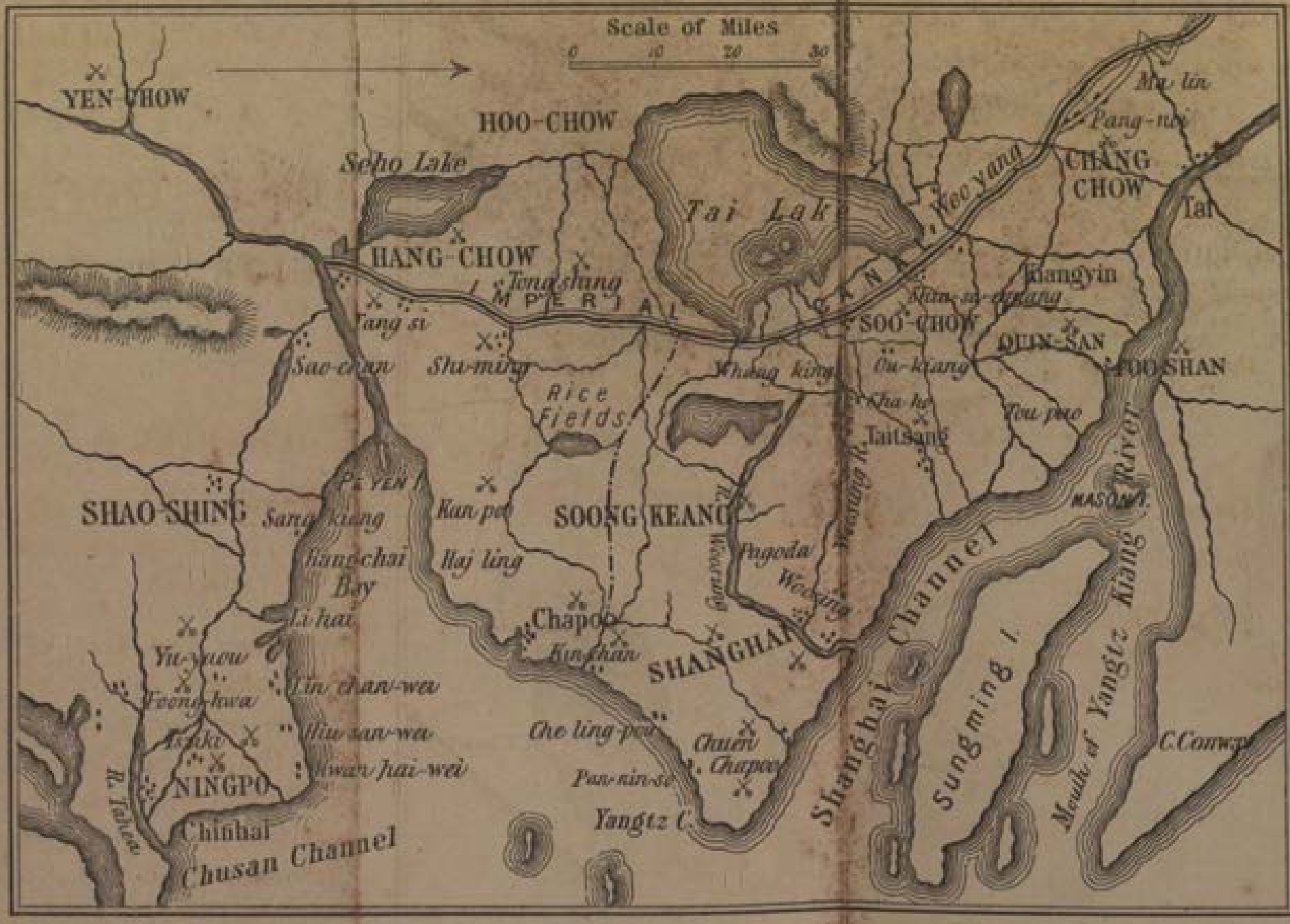


DELTA OF THE YANG-TSZE RIVER IN CHINA.

Showing the battle-fields during the campaign against the Taiping rebels, and their suppression by the disciplined Chinese force under General Gordon.

GENERAL GORDON'S EXPLOITS IN CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTRY TRAVERSED BY GORDON AND FORCE DURING HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TAI-PINGS.

BEFORE commencing the text of Gordon's diary, with comments upon the principal paragraphs, it is necessary to describe the topography of the country comprising the field of his military operations. This, it may be observed, is the most appropriate course to pursue, inasmuch as it was by means of his trigonometrical skill, assisted by an efficient staff of officers and men, that this complicated topographical region was first

surveyed and mapped for military purposes. It is true that the shores along the estuary of the great River Yang-tsze, and the coast on the Pacific Ocean, which defines its boundaries to the north-east and south-east, had previously been accurately laid down on the British Admiralty charts; but regarding the interior, covering a superficies of land with a network of canals and irrigation channels more extensive than that of the Nile Delta, no approximately correct map of it was extant.

Hence in attempting to confront the hordes of Tai-ping rebels devastating the fertile province of Kiang-soo, the British and Chinese disciplined forces were led into labyrinths of land and water, where they had great difficulty in extricating themselves from ambuscades and junk attacks. Under these circumstances, Admiral Sir James Hope, Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, and Brigadier-General Staveley, in command of the military, considered it necessary to have a general accurate survey of the country around Shanghai and its environs, to be executed by a company of Royal Engineers attached to the army.

At this time, about the beginning of 1862, Charles George Gordon, R.E., held the rank of major in that distinguished corps, and had performed arduous and perilous duties during the campaign of the allied English and French armies against the Imperialists before their defeat and the capture of Peking, to the satisfaction of the general commanding. Accordingly, when peace was proclaimed, and the British land and sea forces were disbanded at Tien-tsin, a contingent of Indian troops, a regiment of the line, with a company of Royal Engineers, were quartered at Shanghai to aid the Chinese—who had solicited their assistance—in quelling the Tai-ping Rebellion, which was then raging around the foreign settlement to the detriment of trade, chiefly in the hands of British merchants, and threatening the safety of the English and other residents located at that flourishing emporium in North China.

Emboldened by the success of their onward movement and defeat of the feeble forces raised against them by the Imperial Government, the Tai-ping insurgents had by this time conquered and captured the city of Nanking, which the rebel leader, styling

himself "Tien Wang," signifying *Heavenly King*, had made his headquarters, and his horde of followers had overrun the lowlands in the province of Kiang-soo until they reached the environs of Shanghai. In order to protect the settlement from their murderous ravages, the Consular authorities and Admiral Hope issued a proclamation, that if they came within a hundred *lee*, or about thirty miles, they would be attacked by the British forces, and driven back. In spite of this warning, the rebel hordes continued to cross the prescribed radius, dealing death and devastation in their progress. Parties of Indian troops and seamen from the fleet were sent to attack, but with little effect, for want of an accurate map, showing the peculiar topography of the country.

In this emergency Gordon set to work with a staff of observers through theodolites, and an experienced company of Royal Engineers, to survey the leading lines of the tortuous river region. He soon ascertained that it formed a vast Delta, from the accumulated deposits of sediment *in situ*, throughout countless ages, brought down by the mighty Yang-tsze Kiang, from the interior

of China, along its main channel winding through rocky regions and alluvial valleys for a distance of three thousand miles, together with numerous tributaries and lakes, draining an area of not less than 700,000 square miles. The special geographical feature of this Delta consists in the numerous lakes that intersect the land; one of which is of considerable extent, and formed an important part in the centre of Gordon's military operations.

Regarding this feature of the country, M. Elie de Beaumont, in his "Leçons de Géologie Pratique," remarks that "the different forms of river deltas appear to be only varieties of the same fundamental type. The phenomena which contribute to their formation, and the process by which even human industry affects them, have everywhere the greatest similarity; and the circumstances that these phenomena present a series of phases almost as marked as those of the development of an organized being, greatly augments the interest of the study." If we apply these pertinent remarks to the subject in hand, and compare the Delta of the Yang-tsze with that of the Ganges, they are fundamentally the same in their geological formation, but in their geogra-

phical features they differ as much as the Chinese of the pure Mongol race from the Hindu.

On referring to a map of Asia it will be seen that the Ganges disembogues into the Bay of Bengal through numerous mouths branching from the main stream, three of which form considerable subsidiary rivers; while the Yang-tsze has only one embouchure into the Pacific Ocean, but divided into two great branches by the alluvial island of Tsung Ming. Notwithstanding this marked difference in the estuary of the Yang-tsze from that of the Ganges, the extent of the Delta is equally as great on the seaboard, and its area inland still more so, where the subsidiary waters of the Great River (*Tai Kiang*)—as it is sometimes called by the Chinese—spread out into a series of lakes or lagoons; the *Tai Ho*, or Great Lake, forming a central reservoir for the innumerable smaller channels, which intersect the surface of the delta with a network of canals and ditches. If, therefore, we designate the alluvial lands of the Indian river through which its ana-branches flow into the sea a *River-Delta*, those of the chief Chinese stream may be appropriately

termed a *Lake-Delta*, as forming the leading characteristics of its geographical features.

On ordinary maps of China this lake feature of the Yang-tsze Delta is not well defined, as most of them have been projected on the basis of the old surveys made by the Jesuit fathers upwards of two centuries ago; and the British Admiralty charts, which delineate the sea and river boundaries accurately, but do not give more than a general outline of the Delta. This deficiency, so far as the south-eastern section is concerned, was made good during the latter years of the great Tai-ping rebellion, 1862-65, when Colonel Gordon succeeded to the command of the disciplined Chinese army, in suppressing the civil war in China. Under his directions, Lieutenants Sanford, Lyster, and Maude, of the Royal Engineers; Lieutenants Dalzell and Bateman, of H.M.'s 31st Regiment, Assistant Engineers, and a detachment of Sappers and Miners, surveyed the greater part of the Delta, frequently exposed to the fire of the rebels, and other dangers incident to warfare between semi-barbarous belligerents. The results of that survey, under exceptional difficulties, were forwarded to the

late Sir Henry James, Director of the Topographical Department of the War Office, Southampton, who had two maps printed by the zincographic process, one on the scale of an inch to the mile, and the other five miles to the inch, and entitled "Military Plan of the Country around Shanghai." This plan presents at a glance the characteristic lake features of the Delta, over a triangular area, measuring 180 geographical miles along the right bank of the Yangtsze; about the same on its south-western surveyed boundary; and 122 miles of its frontage to the sea, the whole superficies approximating to 5400 square miles.

About the central region of that area the lake districts are well defined, excepting Seho Lake, lying to the westward, which was not entirely surveyed. However, the shores of the Tai Hu, or Ho, are laid down clearly, with the rocky island and banks to the east and west, forming exceptional features in the general aspect of the Delta, which is that of a level plain only a few feet above the river at high floods, and the sea at spring tides, According to the plan this great lake is, in round numbers, 150 miles in circuit, some-

thing in the form of a Phrygian cap of liberty, and covering an area of about 750 square miles. To the eastward, some fifteen miles from the mid-shore, stands the famous city of Soo-chow, where Gordon and his force finally defeated the rebels. Beyond this a series of smaller lakes begin, and stretch onwards towards the south branch of the estuary, forming the leading channel up the Yang-tsze, and to its branch stream the Wong Poo, where the harbour and settlement of Shanghai are situated. There are twelve lesser streams converging on the great river, and intersecting its south-eastern shore.

Looking at this territory from a geological point of view, we perceive a remarkable example of sedimentary deposit, formed by the turbid waters of the Yang-tsze, charged with the abrasion of rocks and their detritus, from 1000 to 2000 miles in the upper gorges of the river. Evidently at a comparative recent epoch in the formation of sedimentary strata the mouth, or probably mouths, of that mighty stream were near Chin-keang, as shown in the plan, 160 miles from its embouchure at Shanghai; all the intervening area from these points to Hang-chow, at the

south point of the triangle, having been covered by the sea, with the groups of hills in its centre region rising as islands, like those in the Tai Ho Lake, and others off the coast before entering the estuary. As the current of the river met the flowing tide, the sediment *in situ* became deposited, and thus, in time, formed the vast surrounding plain. The rapidity of this formation may be estimated from a few facts related in the Chinese annals of Kiang-soo Province. From these we learn that in the tenth century of the Christian era, and during the reign of an emperor of the Sung Dynasty, Shanghai first received its name of *Hien* as a town of the third order—from *shang*, signifying high, and *hai* or *hae*, the sea, which means literally "on the Upper Sea." "The account which seems most probable, as it is the most natural, is that there were two regions or rivers, one designated the *Lower Sea*, and the other the *Upper Sea;* and hence, it is said, the name was derived. Others say that there were eighteen branches of the Great River, among which one was called the Lower Sea, and another the Upper Sea, and hence the modern name. We also find the characters

reversed—*Hai Shang*, 'Upon the Sea' (reading from right to left), indicating that the city or district was situated contiguous to or upon the sea."

The foregoing quotation was written by Dr. E. C. Bridgman, the learned editor of the *Chinese Repository*, whose knowledge of the native language and history of the empire have constituted that rare serial—the publication of which ceased forty-four years ago—the most accurate authority upon almost everything pertaining to China and the Chinese. Of the two accounts given as to the derivation of Shanghai, we incline to the last mentioned, "Upon the Sea," as it accords most with the geological and geographical changes in the district, where within the memory of living residents, native and foreign, the land on what is called the Pootung Peninsula has encroached upon the sea from one or two miles, and the waters shoaling in proportion, so that several years ago the Kin-toan Beacon, marking low water, on the muddy shore, had to be moved seaward several hundred yards to be afloat. At present Shanghai is seventeen miles distant, in a straight line from that point, and

it requires no stretch of theory to infer that at the period of its official nomenclature, in A.D. 960, the city was walled in, and its original name of *Lan* changed to Hai Shang. Since then, when that became no longer appropriate, from the receding of the sea, the characters were reversed into Shanghai, without any specific geographical designation. In another part of Dr. Bridgman's introduction to his "Description of Shanghai," as situated in the ancient province of Kiang-nan, now divided into Kiang-see and Kiang-soo provinces, he remarks:—"Once, no doubt, the eastern plains of Kiang-nan were partially if not wholly beneath the surface of the sea, but the earth accumulating has by slow degrees driven back the waves. The water-courses are still, however, very numerous, and some of them deep; and the currents, moving with the rising and falling of the tides, very powerful. Consequently many of the channels have changed their beds. The river Woosung is an example of this. 'Twelve centuries ago, in the time of the Tang dynasty,' says the Chinese historian, 'the river of Woosung was twenty *lee* (broad); in the time of the Lung dynasty it was nine

lee; afterwards it gradually lessened down to five, to three, to one *lee*.' " As three *lee* are reckoned as equivalent to one English mile, this delta branch of the Yang-tsze stream has dwindled down from seven miles to one-third of a mile in width during 1250 years.

Let us next revert to the statement founded upon historical records, that "there were eighteen great rivers," intersecting the delta. If we accept this as founded on fact, it points to a period when the Yang-tsze had several separate mouths for the outlet of its vast volume of water into the ocean, similar to those of the Ganges. On reference to Gordon's map, this is supported by the tortuous reaches of the river below Chin-keang, which are probably the old arms of some of these mouths, that in time have closed up on the southern bank, and altered the features of the region between that locality and the sea from a riverine delta to a lacustrine delta. Assuming this to have been the case, there is evidence to show that this closing up of the great channels, and forcing the surplus waters into the main stream, besides innumerable small irrigation ducts and ditches, was materially assisted by the agricultural in-

dustry of the inhabitants. From time immemorial the Chinese located on these low lands have been in the habit of raising *bunds* or embankments, like the dykes formed by the Dutch in the Netherlands, to reclaim the deposits of sediment by the river, and protect the soil when cultivated, from the flooding of the stream, or the encroachments of the sea. In this manner, and by the increasing labours of the most industrious population in China, numbering at the present time not less than ten millions, occupying the delta and the junks afloat in the creeks, they have assisted nature in contracting the great branch streams to insignificant channels in width, but which by their length and multiplicity render them of the utmost importance as canals for navigation or ditches for irrigation.

Of those navigable by large junks, the famous Imperial or Grand Canal furnishes a water-way to Peking, the northern capital. It intersects the Yang-tsze Delta, from Hang-chow Foo, the chief city in Chekiang, situated at the western extremity of the lakes, to Chin-keang on the banks of the Great River, traversing the country to the eastward of Tai Ho lake, and passing through the city

of Soo-chow, the capital of Kiang-soo province, a Foo or town of the first rank according to Chinese geographical nomenclature. In the environs of that city there are branches from the Grand Canal, which lead into the great lake to the westward, and the group of smaller lakes to the eastward. These, with the Shang Fang hills, which overlook the city and its suburban waters, render it one of the most picturesque spots in China. Before the district was ravaged by the rebels the Chinese spoke of it in their flowery language :—Above there is Paradise (or the "Plains of Heaven"); below, are Soo-chow and Hang-chow. This was specially applicable to the luxurious residences with gardens in the vicinity of the lakes, when these cities reached the acme of their prosperity.

This lake district has been known to the English and other foreign residents at Shanghai since the settlements sprang up around the walled town, a *hien*, or one of the third rank; but few of them had a definite idea of their position, extent, and number. On ordinary maps the Tai Ho was laid down, but its outline was variously delineated, and none of them correct, without any of the

smaller lakes shown. This section of Gordon's map is, perhaps, the most interesting and novel portion of it, and we have gleaned much useful information about their capabilities of navigation not previously known. The Great Lake, as already stated, is over 150 miles in circumference, with a superficies approximating to 750 square miles. It is from 10 to 15 feet deep, with shallower water here and there, that should be avoided by vessels drawing 6 to 8 feet, there are numerous entrance channels from all points of the compass, for small native boats, but only one for large junks, or small steamers. The latter is at the extreme eastern boundary, where its waters form into a small subsidiary lake near Woo-kiang. Here the navigation is intricate, as there is a bar at the entrance, with a channel leading to it, which should only be approached at high water. Once inside the lake, it presents a most picturesque prospect, with an extensive liquid horizon, broken only by the hills on its eastern and northern shores. The highest range is along the latter, some of the hills rising to a height of 800 feet, covered with grass and herbage, where, in peaceful times, sheep and cattle

browsed. The islands are highly cultivated, but infested by pirates, who, it is said, have never been subdued by the imperial authorities, so that they live an independent, lawless life, preying on their industrious countrymen living on the mainland.

The smaller lakes have an average depth of nine feet, but most of them shoal on the eastern shores. There has always been considerable traffic on these lakes, and the surrounding country was in the highest state of cultivation, with a dense, industrious population before Soo-chow fell into the hands of the Tai-ping Rebels. When the rebellion was thoroughly subdued in 1865, those who had survived its sanguinary ravages returned to their homes; so that it has recovered, in a great measure, its former condition of prosperity. The facilities for commerce in this district by water communication are extensive, for small steamers as well as junks. During his campaign Gordon navigated the creeks, canals, and most of the small lakes in the *Hyson* steamer, drawing 8 feet water, with high bulwarks, iron lined, to protect the crew from the enemy's fire. From Shanghai he steamed that vessel through intricate

channels, delineated on his plan to Tai-tsang, thence to Soo-chow, and on through Tai-Ho Lake to Kin-tang, causing consternation throughout the country, to the terror of the Tai-pings. It may be said that the success of this experiment in using steamboat means of conveying troops, and surprising an enemy by its expeditious movements, was the precursor of his greater campaign in the Soudan with ironclad and barricaded steamers on the Nile.

With regard to the innumerable smaller channels on the Delta, it was impossible for Gordon and his gallant military surveying party to do more than indicate their intersection at the points where he passed them, in his linear measurement of the more important creeks and canals in his line of communication for military purposes. At an approximate estimate, the area of all the lakes may be calculated at 1200 square miles, and deducting this from the computed superficies of the southern section of the Yang-tsze Delta, delineated on Gordon's plan at 5400 square miles, the remainder is 4200 square miles of land, intersected by these small channels used for navigation and irrigation.

As already stated, the entire net-work of water communication is not projected on Gordon's map, but the intersections are; consequently we can arrive at some estimate of their extent. These are more numerous in some districts than others; but taking an average of those within 100 square miles on the Poo-tung peninsula, eastward of Shanghai, we find more than 200 miles of water-ways ranging from five to fifteen feet wide. Reducing this average, however, for the sake of accuracy, to 120 miles, and the whole area of land intersected with first-class channels to 3000 square miles, we have the total length computed at 36,000 miles of creeks, canals, and ditches, nearly the whole being navigable by *sampans* (small boats), junks (cargo boats), and steamers of various tonnage. The actual linear measurement surveyed by Gordon and his staff of eighty Royal Engineers was not less than 1700 miles, including the banks of the Imperial Canal within the provinces of Kiang-soo and Che-kiang, and if we add the circuits of the lake shores at 280 miles, we have a total of 2500 miles surveyed by theodolite and chain on the delta of the Yang-tsze Kiang. A

writer in the *Times*, commenting on this survey, says:—"Such a task undertaken in a peaceable country would be one of no small magnitude; but when we consider that nearly the whole of it was performed in the face of a bloodthirsty enemy, the surveyors being frequently under fire, and at all times risking their lives from the attacks of marauders, or the deadly malaria of that marshy region, this map illustrates an example of 'the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties' that redounds to the credit, skill, and perseverance of Gordon and his staff of Royal Engineers."

In concluding this topographical sketch of the Yang-tsze Delta, we have not touched upon that portion of it to the south-east of Gordon's plan, as it does not come within the field of operations mentioned in his diary, also because the available data is not to be relied on. For similar reasons we have not given any account of the island of Tsung Ming, forming a considerable part of the true delta or tongue in the mouth of the estuary, and the great section on its northern shore, where the alluvial lands of this "Child of the Ocean"—as the people fondly name the river

—join those of the *Hwang Ho*, or Yellow River, which the Emperor Kienlung designated "China's Sorrow," in allusion to the vagaries of its erratic channel and embouchure. Estimating the extent of the entire area of the delta, north and south of the river, at double that of the country surveyed by Gordon, or say 10,000 square miles, this would make it more than one-fourth the superficies of the province of Kiang-soo, which has been computed at 39,150 square miles, where a population of 37,843,500 existed previous to its decimation during the Tai-ping Rebellion. Probably no territory in the world of similar extent is better watered, with greater fertility of soil, cultivated in the highest degree by skilful labourers, who have made it the "Garden of the Provinces," and the Yang-tsze Kiang, the "Girdle of China."

CHAPTER II.

THE CHINESE DISCIPLINED FORCE—CAPTURE OF KAH-DING BY THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES.

UNDER the magniloquent title of "The Ever-victorious Army," the Chinese disciplined force, commanded by Gordon during his campaign against the Tai-ping insurgents, is best known; though he seldom designated the corps as such, inasmuch as he knew that the officers and men were not always victorious in their numerous engagements. In fact the reason why he was appointed to the command by the Brigadier-General, and approved by the Chinese Governor, arose in consequence of their defeat when led by a British officer who succeeded an American adventurer, and he got the post after the originator of the corps, also a native of the United States, was killed in action. The true history of the force is as follows:—

In 1860, when the Imperial Chinese Army were engaged in contending with the allied British and French Forces to defend Peking and the surrounding country, the Tai-ping insurgents availed themselves of the opportunity to march their hordes through the Province of Kiang-soo to Shanghai, where their spies ascertained there was plenty of plunder to be got. Not only were the Chinese tea merchants, silk merchants, and bankers in dread at the approach of the quasi-religious banditti, but the foreign community occupying the settlements outside the city walls were apprehensive that their "godowns within compounds," stored with valuable merchandise and produce, would be sacked by the insurgents. Excepting the owners of these premises, and the civilians engaged in the various establishments belonging to ten different nationalities, there was no foreign force to protect the persons and property of the residents, excepting a small body of police belonging to the municipal authorities for the preservation of order within their precincts. But even the greater number of these, as well as the *employés* and servants in the stores, were Chinese on whom

little or no reliance could be placed in the event of an attack by the sanguinary Taipings, who had captured most of the principal cities and towns in the provinces of Kiang-soo and Che-kiang, when they ruthlessly slaughtered all the men who would not join the movement, and put their families to the sword.

Under these threatening circumstances meetings were convened by the Chinese authorities to devise means for the safety of the city and settlement, but they were almost powerless to put their resolutions into effect, from the impoverished condition of their exchequer, to call out the local militia. In this dilemma the wealthy guilds of merchants and others, such as the Shan-tung Guild, which is a rich and powerful association, came forward to subscribe the necessary funds for the purpose. At the same time there was a number of adventurous foreigners not engaged in any particular pursuit, but who professed to know something about military matters, and who offered their services to raise a corps of efficiently-armed men amongst the peasantry, if supplied with means to equip and pay them. This proposal was ap-

proved of by the Taou-tai, or head-mandarin, in Shanghai, and the guild merchants, who promised to find the funds.

Accordingly the foreigners were consulted as to the formation of an efficient force. The head man amongst them was an American named Ward, who strongly advocated that it should consist of picked men from the militia, and disciplined after the model of European soldiers armed with rifles and accoutrements. As an example of what the force should be, he and a fellow-countryman named Burgevine assembled a hundred foreigners, and had them thoroughly equipped by the authorities, who styled their leader General Ward, and they marched under his command in June, 1860. The objective point of the party was the town of Soong-keong, about twenty miles south-west of Shanghai by river communication, which had been seized by the Tai-ping rebels. These were taken by surprise on seeing armed foreigners, who attacked them vigorously and by skilful tactics, so that the most of them were driven from the place, which was easily captured, to the intense delight of the peaceful Chinese.

Further negotiations with the authorities and heads of guilds, led to the enrolment of militiamen and selected peasants into a corps to be disciplined by the foreigners under General Ward, each of them bearing name, rank, and pay according to his capabilities and efficiency. For upwards of eighteen months recruiting and drilling was conducted successfully, until, at the close of 1861, a corps of disciplined infantry and artillery were formed, ready to take the field against the Tai-pings. Soong-keong, the town recaptured by Ward and his confederates, was made the headquarters of the new disciplined force, where barracks were built for the accommodation of the officers and men. Within three miles of that town a village is situated near some hills where the rebels had fortified themselves, and made raids on the surrounding country, plundering the industrious inhabitants and destroying the farms, which called for immediate punishment. Accordingly Ward and his force were up in arms fully equipped to carry out the behests of the mandarins, which they executed in gallant style, in conquering the stronghold of the enemy, who suffered a severe loss in

killed and wounded. This was the battle of Quang-fu-ling, the first engagement of the "Ever-victorious Army," on the 10th of February, 1862.

By this time the British and French contingents arrived from Tien-tsin, to assist in checking the progress of the Tai-ping insurgents. At first they consisted of marines and seamen from the ships of war under Admiral Hope and L'Amiral Protet. The authorities at Shanghai received them in a most cordial manner, notwithstanding the recent hostilities between the allies and imperialists at Peking. Then they reported that a large band of the rebels, well armed, had taken possession of some villages and a town on the Poo-tung Peninsula, within a few miles of the city and settlement across the Wong Poo River. Immediate steps were taken to drive them from the threatening position on the east bank of the harbour, where nearly a hundred foreign merchant vessels were at anchor, besides double that number of native craft, that might be plundered or set on fire. Orders were immediately given for Ward's disciplined force to join the naval contingents, to attack the

enemy. This was promptly executed, and fully accomplished at Kah-chiaou on the 21st of February, when many rebels were killed or wounded, and the remainder dispersed or seized by the inhabitants. Following up that success, the combined force marched to Tsee-dong, fourteen miles eastward of Shanghai, on the same peninsula, and drove the enemy from it with considerable loss, and comparatively trifling casualties to the force, on the 1st of March.

Before this the British military contingent appointed to aid the disciplined force in suppressing the Rebellion were unable to leave Tien-tsin, in consequence of the roadstead at Ta-koo, where they were to embark, being frozen up during the rigorous winter there. Now that navigation was not impeded by ice, a speedy passage was performed by the troop-ships through the Gulf of Pe-che-lee to the estuary of the Yang-tsze Kiang. The troops conveyed consisted of her Majesty's 31st Regiment, a regiment of the 5th Bombay infantry, a regiment of Punjaub infantry, and a Battery of Royal Artillery, under Major Penycuick. These were promptly brigaded, by Brigadier-General Staveley, with the British and French

Naval contingents, and Ward's disciplined Chinese force. After a month's preparation and drilling, this augmented field force was marched to Wong-ka-dza, where the insurgents had strengthened the defences of a considerable town, by barricades and stockades. The attack was made at the beginning of April, and after a stubborn resistance it was recaptured on the 4th, during which Admiral Hope was wounded, but not seriously. On the following day a place of less importance was taken by the naval brigade and Ward's force, without Staveléy's troops, at Se-king, four miles west of Shanghai.

Crossing the Wong-poo River again to the eastward, the whole military, naval, and native brigade attacked the town of Tser-poo, held by the rebels, and drove them from its walls with great loss to the enemy, on the 17th of April. Again, on the 29th of that month, the combined body of combatants encountered the enemy with a similar result at Nan-zeang, eleven miles to the west of Shanghai. In these engagements Ward's disciplined Chinese force performed only a subsidiary part, but what they executed was fairly well done, and the American leader,

with his lieutenant, Burgevine, and other foreign officers, kept them in hand, which was not an easy matter to do after a fight when plunder might be had. Moreover, as the British and French forces comprised the largest element of these expeditions, it was necessary that the insurgents should be apprised of the determination to protect the foreign settlement at Shanghai, by capturing their strongholds within thirty miles. In order to show that these were formidable posts to attack, even by European troops, it will be appropriate to quote here the account of the successful capture of the city of Kah-ding, which was published in the *North China Herald*:—

"A third combined naval and military expedition against the Tai-ping rebels near Shanghai drove them from one of their strongest posts to the westward of the settlement. Since the previous expedition our garrison has been increased by 1000 troops from Tientsin, consisting of 20 officers and 700 rank and file of her Majesty's 31st Regiment of Infantry, under Colonel Spence, C.B.; 10 officers and 250 rank and file of the 67th, under Colonel Hague, and 16 men of the

Royal Engineers, under Major Gordon, with a large park of engineer stores, six mortars, and a quantity of shells and rockets. This accession has increased the British military strength to 2500, of whom about 2000 took the field against the rebels in this expedition.

"The plans of Admiral Hope and General Staveley, in conjunction with the French Admiral Protet, with 1500 marines and seamen, and General Ward having 800 Chinese under his command, were speedily matured on the arrival of the fresh troops. The combined forces marched out from Shanghai, with a large following of native coolies carrying commissariat and ordnance stores; while the naval brigade sent numerous boats up the Soo-chow Creek, with supplies of every description.

"At 6 a.m., on April 26th, 1862, the advanced guards of the various corps in the garrison, under Colonel Moody, R.E., marched out to the rendezvous at Nan-zeang, a large deserted town on the Soo-chow Creek, the distance by land being found to be about twelve miles. The country in the neighbourhood of the above-named place presented a deplorable appearance of desolation; while

the town itself was thoroughly gutted, and the houses mostly stripped of their doors, shutters, and planking, which had been carried off by the rebels, to be used in the construction of stockades.

"Captain Willis, R.N., C.B., proceeded by the creek leading to Kah-ding, stopping at Yak-ki-toon, and Nan-zeang, by which he ascertained that thus far from Shanghai there was good water communication and means of transport for guns, baggage, and stores. The Royal Marines of H.M.S. *Imperieuse*, under Captain Holland, R.M., 'L.I.,' also ascended the creek in advance of a flotilla laden with ordnance and commissariat stores. The marines, on arriving at Nan-zeang, drove a rebel picquet out of the suburbs, killing two chiefs and several of their followers and horses. The town itself was otherwise clear, but some stockades were discovered a few hundred yards beyond it, on the road to Kah-ding.

"The 31st Regiment landed from the *Vulcan* on the morning of the 27th of April, and marched through the British Settlement of Shanghai at seven o'clock, equipped for active service. They were joined by the

Royal Artillery, when the whole force proceeded on the road to Nan-zeang, followed by Brigadier-General Staveley and staff. Passing through that town, they found the rebels encamped in the northern suburb, occupying a rudely fortified position, of which the general ordered a reconnaissance in force, to find out what the place was like.

"At this rendezvous they found the detachments of the 67th, the 99th, the Punjaub N.I., the 5th Bombay N.L.I., the Naval Brigade, the French troops with their artillery, and the disciplined Chinese. The reconnoitring party being formed, it advanced and skirmished close up to the right flank of the enemy's line of defence, firing many rounds into the works, which was returned. The progress of the party was stopped by a wide and deep wet ditch. Here Lieut. Tulloch, of the 22nd, with some thirty or forty of his men, forded the ditch, breast high, reached the stockades, and found the place partially deserted. The order was then given to retire, upon which the rebels returned to their works and recommenced firing, causing several casualties on our side, amongst which Captain Brown, of the 5th,

was severely wounded. Four coolies were killed, and many of the Chinese in the French service wounded. The reconnoitring party, after accomplishing their object, returned to Nan-zeang, leaving an outlying picket for the night.

"Early next morning the whole force, with the exception of the 5th, who were left in garrison at Nan-zeang, advanced towards the stockade. The line of the English advance was to turn to the left and take the enemy in the rear. In doing this two creeks had to be crossed by pontoon bridges, constructed by the engineers, aided by the blue-jackets. The guns of the Royal Artillery were first over the second creek, and were immediately put in position to enfilade the works. They were followed by a company of marines, who supported them, and the 22nd Punjaub N.I., whose axe-party cut down bamboos and shrubs to facilitate their working. The 31st then crossed over, and remained under cover of the village, while the general and staff reconnoitred the place from the roof of a house. In a few minutes the 31st pushed through the village to skirmish, and at the same time the guns opened fire. The

skirmishers advanced gradually across the fields, leaving a creek on their left, behind which there appeared to be some banners, and from whence two or three shots were fired. By this time the firing was general from all points bearing on the stockade and fortified post; and the skirmishers continued to advance, until they came within the line of the French and naval guns, which were in action between the stockade and Nanzeang. Then the rebels were seen to be retreating from the fortified post, along the road leading to Kah-ding. A rocket was immediately fired, as a signal for the guns to cease firing, and the 31st advanced, until checked by a creek, firing at the rebels as they ran along the road. In about ten minutes the work seemed to be evacuated, and the general ordered an immediate advance on Kah-ding.

"Some officers were sent to the post evacuated by the enemy, to inspect and report upon the stockade and the fortification. At a distance the latter looked like a temple put in a state of defence, but on examination it turned out to be a mass of small Chinese houses and sheds strengthened with doors, poles, and broken wood of all descriptions,

backed with earth and bricks, and loopholed, ingeniously devised as a fort. Inside there were two small iron guns or carronades, numerous jingalls or native matchlocks, and a large display of banners bearing the Chinese characters for Tai-ping-dom. There were also numerous stables fitted up inside, evidently just vacated by the native ponies used for cavalry. The stockade was evidently a work of recent construction on the same principle of defence, and both were connected and encircled by ditches, stakes, *abattis*, forming altogether a strong defensive work. There were three guns, a few jingalls and spears in the stockade, and one dead rebel. In the fort there were none killed, but several prisoners were captured, one of whom was a wounded European. Along the line of retreat there were about twenty-five killed.

"It was now apparent that the rebels occupying this post had been seized with panic, and in order to follow up the blow so satisfactorily accomplished, an immediate advance to Kah-ding was ordered, being less than two miles distant, at the head of Soo-chow Creek. The 31st led the way, leaving

the ground at about 8.30 p.m., and reached the southern suburb of Kah-ding in two hours, taking up their quarters in the best houses to be found within 500 yards of the walls. They were followed by the marines, who were quartered about a couple of hundred yards in advance of them. The remainder of the English and French troops, with the disciplined Chinese force, came up in succession, and took up their position in the rear of the 31st. The Naval Brigade with their boats pushed on at the greatest speed along the creek from Nan-zeang.

"From the stockade to Kah-ding the road was unusually good for a Chinese path, the bridges were entire, and the country passed through presented a charming aspect,—the land highly cultivated, and the crops in good order.

"All the villages, however, were deserted and ruinous, marking the desolating presence of the Tai-pings. Molo, the principal village passed through, with some smaller places, had been fortified by the rebels, but were evacuated. The creek was close to the line of march all the way.

"As soon as the troops reached their quarters

in the suburbs of the city, reconnaissances were sent out to examine the South Gate, the ditch, and defences of the town. In the evening a few rebels on horseback made their appearance in front of the crenellated wall, some fifteen feet high outside, and one of them was shot by a marine sentry. Outlying pickets were then stationed for the night in front and around each flank.

"On Wednesday, the 30th of April, the guns and commissariat stores arrived in boats. Further reconnaissances were sent out, and the plan of attack arranged. During that night the rebels appeared to be busy strengthening their defences and mounting guns.

"At half-past two on the 1st of May the guns of the allied force were brought into position; the French pieces to the right of the creek, which runs into the city ditch; the Naval Brigade howitzers close to the creek on the left; the mountain guns of the Royal Artillery between them and the road; Govan's 24-pounder howitzer on the left of the road amongst the ruins, and the mortars close beside it. The ladder and axe parties, the next to move, were placed under cover,

immediately in the rear of the guns; the storming parties in the rear of them, also under cover; the regiments of the line in contiguous column in support, with the exception of the 99th and marksmen of the 31st, who had been detached to cover the guns and keep down the fire from the walls. These arrangements being completed, the troops remained under cover until there was sufficient light to commence firing. An obstruction of felled trees, which the rebels had formed across the creek, was removed during the night by a party of sappers and bluejackets, to afford a clear passage for the boats intended to bridge over the moat surrounding the city walls.

"The guns opened fire about 5 a.m., as soon as it was daylight, and in the course of twenty minutes one sailor and two or three of the R.A. and 31st attached were hit by jingall shots from the wall—the only casualties. The 24-pounder paid particular attention to the South Gate, and made magnificent shooting. Aided by the small guns and mortars, it completely silenced the gate in half an hour, which was stubbornly defended. In the bombardment, one of the mortar shells

set fire to a building inside the gate, which was not intended, so shell-fire was stopped, and the artillery and Naval Brigade turned their guns on the wall, the crest of which it was necessary to demolish for the scaling-ladders to reach the top. For this purpose the guns were all advanced as the enemy's fire slackened; and after a few rounds from the new position, the boats forming bridges came up the creek by signal, turning to the left at its junction with the city moat. This was bridged across in about ten minutes, and the order sent back for ladders to advance. The men carrying these came up at a run, and passed the guns. As they were descending the bank, Corporal Collins, of the Royal Engineers, was seen on the top of the wall, having scrambled up the breach without other aid than the foothold offered by shell-holes and *débris*.

"The city side of the moat was palisaded in two rows, and the ground covered with a sort of trellis-work of long bamboos, making walking very difficult. However, the ladder-parties were not to be baulked, and they came on in fine style, raising their ladders very quickly. A naval ladder was the first

planted, then the rest came on indiscriminately. These were followed by the stormers, who extended their party along the wall on both sides, to clear it of any rebels that might be there, and to shoot them as they ran away. Only two *chang maous*, or long-haired rebels, were killed on the walls, and about twenty shot in the street by the storming party. The town was thus taken by assault an hour and a half after the action commenced.

"The South Gate was then opened, and the troops marched in to the music of the French band; then passing along the main street, which was tolerably wide, a few bodies of rebels were seen on the way. About the central thoroughfare a tall tower or pagoda stands prominently, with roomy chambers at its base. This was taken possession of by the English general as a depôt for plunder collected, and to be left in charge of a guard from the 22nd Punjaub N.I. The remainder of the regiment were sent to bring all the valuables found in the city, to be afterwards fairly divided among the whole force—indiscriminate plundering being prohibited. Near this pagoda the troops piled arms, and waited

for orders. Before doing so, some rebels were seen trying to escape amongst the ruins of the town, when some twenty of them were shot. After waiting half an hour, all the troops were ordered outside the walls back to their quarters in the suburbs, except the Punjaub 22nd N.I. A guard was placed at the South Gate to search all passers-out, who were obliged to deliver up any small valuables that might have fallen into their possession.

"Kah-ding presents the usual appearance of a Chinese city in the province of Kiang-soo, with crenellated walls forming a complete circle round it, extending to six or seven miles, and about fifteen feet high, similar to the dimensions of the wall round Shanghai, and classed in Chinese topography as a 'Hyen or Hien,' signifying a city of the third order. It has four gates, opening at the cardinal points of the compass; adjoining which are four water channels from Soochow Creek, which intersect the interior with a net-work of canals, crossed by thirty-two bridges. The thoroughfares of the south-west angle of the city were not built over, and the remainder appeared to have con-

tained numerous well-constructed houses, many of them demolished, while the principal mandarin residences had been preserved for the use of the Tai-ping chiefs.

"One of these appeared to have been occupied by the military leader of the insurgents, as two iron guns were placed at the entrance, evidently of English manufacture, and marked 'B. P. & Co.,' with a crown and date, 1861. Gaudy banners waved on each side of the doorway, gongs hung on racks on the passage to the inner apartments, where all was in excellent order. In one room an English musket was found, together with a foreign sword having a steel scabbard; and several rifles and pistols seemed to have been undergoing repair, as the necessary tools lay on the table beside them. In another room a quantity of copper money, with strings through the square hole in the centre, divided into hundreds and looking like sausages, were scattered about the floor. This evidently had been the Tai-ping treasury, for the 'looting' party employed to collect plunder found afterwards a considerable deposit of Mexican dollars and Sycee silver, in ingots, under the floor. In other parts of the *yamen*, or

official residence, bottles of cherry brandy and porter were found; also cases containing an immense quantity of English and French percussion caps, red flasks of gunpowder and kegs of the same, branded 'T. Sharp & Co., London.' The garden of this mansion, also of several other houses, were very pretty, and got up in the usual style of Chinese landscape-gardening, with rock-work grottoes, and ponds crossed by quaint bridges. Altogether the aspect of Kah-ding, even after its partial destruction, indicated that it was at one time a very beautiful city.

"Many of the inferior houses had been turned into stables by the rebels, and at least two hundred and fifty ponies or small Chinese horses were captured. Large stores of rice were taken, both in the buildings and in boats on the navigable canals, most of them good, serviceable craft, many being newly built. It was difficult to estimate the value of the miscellaneous 'loot,' but it was calculated to be not less than a hundred thousand Mexican dollars, not including the sale of heavy articles sent to Shanghai. A prize committee was formed, as usual, to realize and distribute the prize-money. Another

committee sat to deliberate upon what should be done with the prisoners, of whom about fifteen hundred had been taken. Some fifty of the men were pointed out by the Imperial officers attached to the allied force, known to be rebels of the deepest dye, and were accordingly handed over to the Taou-tai, or chief magistrate of Shanghai for punishment. Of the remainder, one hundred and fifty were women, several of them branded on their cheeks with Tai-ping characters. These were released, but seemed very reluctant to quit the protection of the allies.

"The casualties on our side were trifling, while the rebel loss in killed and wounded exceeded fifteen hundred. This success had an excellent moral effect upon the oppressed industrious inhabitants of the surrounding country, who seemed to rejoice in throwing off the yoke of the cruel Tai-pings, who had forced them to labour without pay, and enlisted the men and lads against their will. Immediately the result of the engagement was known, those who had escaped the clutches of the insurgents were returning cheerfully to restore their homes and farms to their former state of prosperity. This

agreeable alteration in the condition of the peasantry struck all the foreigners on returning from the scene of action, as they journeyed from Nan-zeang along the road to Shanghai, which we witnessed on the third day after the victory. Families of husbandmen trudged lightly along with the scanty *lares* and *penates* saved from the robbers, and slung on their poles carried over the shoulder; where the domestic utensils were at one end, frequently a child was carried in a basket at the other end, to balance the weight. Chubby-cheeked boys and girls walked gaily beside their parents, and shouted with glee when they left the main road for their farmsteads, while all of them smiled and bowed reverently to the officers as they passed by."

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLIED BRITISH, FRENCH, AND CHINESE FORCES CAPTURE NINGPO AND TSING-POO.

FROM the account in the preceding chapter of the defeat of the Tai-pings at Kah-ding, and the capture of that city by the combined British, French, and Chinese forces, it will be inferred that they were a formidable enemy to contend with. But this only represents one of the strongholds held by the insurgents in the provinces covering the Yang-tsze Delta, which at the time numbered about one hundred. Of these the city and port of Ningpo was next to Shanghai in importance to the British and foreign shipping community occupying the settlement on the harbour there. It is the provincial capital of Che-kiang, adjoining the province of Kiang-soo; and situated at the confluence of two small rivers, which form a canal from

the city to the sea. These streams water a plain encompassed almost on every side with hills, forming a natural amphitheatre or oval basin; whose diameter from east to west, passing through the city, is about eighteen miles, and some twenty miles from north to south. The plain is densely dotted with villages and hamlets, around which the ground is so level and highly cultivated that it resembles a large garden. It is intersected by numerous canals, formed by the springs that descend from the hills; the principal one, on which part of the eastern suburb stands, extending to the base of the mountains, being about ten miles long and sixty feet wide. The walls are between three and four miles in circumference, and built of compact masonry, the freestone being quarried in the hills. There are five gates, two opening towards the east, opposite the shipping, where there are also two water entrances for vessels to traffic in the city.

This was one of the first Treaty Ports opened by the Government to foreign traders, shortly after which the Tai-ping rebels captured the city at the close of 1861. Their approach to it was the signal for the depar-

ture of all the respectable and industrious inhabitants, the greater portion of whom flocked to Shanghai for safety. The imbecile and pusillanimous Imperial authorities in charge deserted their posts without even a show of resistance, and allowed the Tai-ping hordes to capture the city with scarcely a blow in its defence. At first the intentions of the rebels were apparently of a peaceful character, and their headmen issued notices in Chinese, making Ningpo a free port for three months, and inviting the native traders to resume their occupations. But this was all a sham to cover their warlike operations; and as to the restoration of civil institutions, it was not in them to form the most trifling rules for the conservation of law and order. Their principal monetary and commercial acts were confined to plundering the industrious inhabitants of their valuables and hard-won earnings. Instead of legitimate trade being restored, a contraband traffic in munitions of war grew up, demoralizing to foreign commerce, and prolonging the desolating insurrection. Instead of peaceful industry being revived in the city, all artificers had been driven from it excepting workers in

arms and ammunition, and the place had been turned into a strongly fortified citadel; while the only semblance of a government was that of a rude military despotism.

In view of this state of matters, Admiral Sir James Hope, in conjunction with the French Admiral Protet, deemed it advisable to send a naval expedition to Ningpo Harbour, while General Ward's disciplined Chinese force proceeded by land to aid in driving the rebels from the city, before they became too strong in their defensive position. It was ascertained that their magazines of food and warlike stores were full; that might enable them to hold out for some time.

On the face of the wall opposite the foreign settlement fifty-seven guns were mounted; the batteries completed with thirteen commanding the river passage to the city, and there were upwards of fifteen thousand armed men within the walls. A week later and very few able to bear arms would have been without rifles and ammunition brought for sale by foreign smugglers. Guns were imported by the hundred, small arms by the thousand, and ammunition by the

ton. One ship, the *Paragon*, was seized with 300 pieces of ordnance in the hold, 100 cases of small arms, and 50 tons of ammunition on board; the arms were all of the best foreign manufacture, with flasks of the strongest English gunpowder.

From the depth of water in the harbour of Ningpo, admitting men-of-war to anchor securely, this was purely a naval engagement against the insurgents, in which none of the military brigade took part as at Kah-ding. The plan of attack was to bring up the British squadron with two French war-ships to bombard the city from the roadstead. The disposition of the vessels was as follows: *Ringdove*, steam sloop, four guns, Captain Craigie, and 200 men, off the North Gate; *Encounter*, corvette, twelve guns, Captain Roderick Dew, and 300 men, about 250 yards from the Salt Gate; *Hardy*, gunboat, half way between the Salt and East Gates; *Kestrel*, off East Gate; and the two French ships *Etoile* and *Confucius*, opposite the Bridge Gate batteries.

These were all in position on the morning of the 10th May, 1862, when the rebels began the fight by opening fire on the *Encounter*

from the crenellated wall, which was returned as soon as the guns could be brought to bear. The rest of the fleet fired simultaneously on their respective points of attack. The bombardment continued during the forenoon at such short range as evidently to produce great execution, and with such precision as to dismount most of the guns facing the foreign settlement. The East and Bridge Gate batteries were fought with determined obstinacy, but were eventually silenced by the *Kestrel*, *Etoile*, and *Confucius*. Between twelve and one the rebels began to gather anew on the walls, owing, it is supposed, to the fire of the ships having slackened during the dinner-hour.

The storming party was landed between one and two; a body of marines having been previously sent to occupy the look-out of one of the houses close to the Salt Gate, and to try and keep the walls clear near the ladders; a field-piece was also landed to cover the storming party as well, and while the *Ringdove* occupied the North Gate, the men from the *Encounter* and French gunboat, led by Captain Dew and Commander Kenny, under a very heavy fire, stormed and captured the Salt Gate. The insurgents fought under

shelter of the houses just inside the walls, and were enabled to take deliberate shots at the attacking party. Commander Kenny was hit just as he mounted the walls, and Lieutenant Cornewall of the *Encounter* was killed while leading his men on to the charge. Some twenty men were very quickly disabled, but steady perseverance had its effect, and the Tai-pings in the course of an hour began to give way, when the Union Jack, hoisted on the roof of the Salt Gate house assured all of the fact that the city was captured by the British and their allies. As soon as the Salt Gate was opened, a body of the pusillanimous imperial soldiers, who had been looking on at the engagement out of harm's way on the opposite side of the river, procured all the boats at hand, and quickly crossed over to the city; and by half-past three they assembled on the walls with flags and banners, shouting and encouraging others to come over.

In the meanwhile the *Kestrel*, *Hardy*, and *Confucius* broke through a bridge of boats laid across the harbour, destroyed and spiked the guns of the battery that commanded the passage, and took up a position at the South Gate, thereby cutting off all egress but by

the West Gate for the rebels to escape from the city, and this, of course, was taken advantage of, as the allies had no intention of making the misguided men prisoners. By this time the principal mandarin, styled Taoutai, had arrived, and was put in possession of the captured city; and at daylight next morning the rebel force, numbering between 15,000 and 20,000, had disappeared beyond the walls; leaving their wounded behind to the tender mercies of the troops in possession. Ward's disciplined force took no active part in the engagement, but afterwards were placed to protect the West Gate, in case some of the rebels returned. Their appearance was new to the Imperialist guard of the Taoutai, who did not know what to make of them compared with their own rabble. Then the inhabitants who had fled into the country from the cruel Tai-pings flocked to the gates for admittance in great numbers. These were under the charge of an efficient committee of defence, who questioned the comers, and took measures to ensure the safety of legitimate traders. These had their heads shaved, so that they were loyal-looking Imperialists, who opened their shops and dwelling-houses.

Although this engagement was successful, yet it was not accomplished without a severer loss to the British than any of the previous victories over the Tai-ping hordes. Twenty men were killed and wounded of the *Encounter* crew, and six in the two gun-boats, besides six in the French vessels. That loss was chiefly owing to the enemy being armed with rifles and revolvers of the best foreign manufacture, and charged with the strongest English gunpowder. How these were obtained has been mentioned, by smugglers and foreign renegades, many of them British traders. It is very hard for a brave soldier or sailor to lose his life in battle under an enemy's legitimate weapons and mode of warfare; but when he meets his fate from arms and ammunition of his own country's manufacture, and supplied to the enemy by his own money-grubbing countrymen, it is still harder to bear; but it stamps the contraband trader as a despicable traitor to his country. As already remarked, this compared with previous victories over the Tai-ping rebels was dearly bought, especially as Lieut. Cornewall—a nephew of Sir Cornewall Lewis, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer—was numbered among the killed, and

the sacrifice of these brave men will stamp the capture of Ningpo with melancholy interest.

Following up that success, no time was lost to attack and capture another stronghold of the insurgents within the environs of Shanghai. In this expedition up one of the navigable creeks for a small man-of-war, H.M. despatch-boat, tender to the flag-ship *Imperieuse*, named the *Coromandel*, four guns, Commander Davidson, with a crew of forty men, was commissioned to render assistance to the land forces. The first stage of the expedition was at Soong-keong, the head-quarters of the native disciplined force. Since the city was recaptured from the Tai-ping insurgents and placed under the protection of Colonel Ward and his men, it was restored to its former aspect in peaceful times, and improved in its means of defence. Like Shanghai it is classed topographically as a *Hien*, or walled city of the third order, with extensive suburbs outside, which were destroyed by the rebels when in possession of the place. These were now rebuilt, with a large number of shops for the sale of provisions and merchandise, but even these were

scarcely adequate for the wants of the increased population, which was greater than it had ever been before. The crenellated wall encompassing the inner town was repaired, strengthened, and embrasures cut for ordnance after the English method of fortification. They were manned with guns of large calibre mounted on ship-carriages, and traversing on roughly-made platforms, with due provision of shot and ammunition alongside each. Several substantial guard-houses were erected inside the gates, which were occupied by the drilled natives, who piled their rifles on brackets, and presented a very creditable soldierly appearance. The sentries had evidently been ordered to pay the proper military salute to foreign officers, and presented their arms to every uniform in the expeditionary force displaying an inch of gold lace with great propriety.

All the troops were quartered in large religious temples at the western suburb; the authorities considering it no desecration to turn these edifices into barracks for the accommodation of the foreign soldiers sent to fight the bands of traitors to the majesty of their sovereign. Besides quarters, the

bonzes or priests attended to the wants of the officers in sending to their mess a goodly supply of luxuries for the table, including champagne and other wines. Provisions were also supplied to the rank and file, and a market opened, well stocked with good fish, beef, mutton, and pork—the best dairy-fed that could be seen in England. Vegetables of many kinds were also procurable in any quantity, but, for a Chinese city, at rather a high rate, which was attributed to the demand created by the presence of the large disciplined Chinese force at headquarters.

Admiral Hope and l'Amiral Protet were in command of their respective British and French forces, who assembled at Soong-keong to determine their plan of operations to capture Tsing-poo, a walled city of the third order, situated on the same creek further inland about seven miles, which was in possession of a desperate band of rebels. It was arranged that the combined force, including a contingent of Ward's men, should proceed to their destination by native boats. By dint of great exertions the headmen of the city had got together some 250 boats of

all sizes the day previous to starting. But these, having been probably all pressed, and certainly their hire not paid for, many of the owners had taken advantage of no guard having been placed over them, and slipped away by the numerous small creeks branching off from the large one that passes the city. Eventually some came back, and a sufficient number was hunted up and pressed into the service. After some delay—unavoidable in these expeditions—the majority of the artillery, troops, and stores of all sorts were embarked, and started for Kuang-foo-lin, four miles off, in the direction of Tsing-poo.

On getting well clear of the outer suburbs of Soong-keong the creek became wider, and presented a lively appearance in the early morning of departure. It was crowded with native boats of every size, from the formidable (?) war-vessel of the imperialists down to little chips of *sampans*, or three-plank craft, very much resembling coffins afloat without lids. In fact any boat that would keep out water was requisitioned, if it could carry, besides its crew, one or two soldiers and a cooking-pot. And the motley cargoes and passengers in the flotilla: artil-

lerymen and Indian Sikhs; commissariat stores and ammunition; wide-mouthed little mortars and death-dealing Armstrong guns, grinning and peeping forth from among the *chow-chow*, and pickle-pots on board the most peaceful-looking Chinese river boats; the owners and crews evidently regarding their unaccustomed cargo with great distrust.

Every one was in hilarious spirits—the laugh resounded, and jokes and repartee passed from boat to boat, increasing the volume of merriment as they passed onwards. As to the blue-jackets, no persuasion could induce them to remain still in the boats, and there being no means of getting ashore but by swimming, and that was forbidden, many of them tumbled overboard, of course by accident, and emerging from the creek dripping and covered with water-weeds, ran along the banks, astonishing the tillers of the soil and villagers, that most of them escaped into the fields, as if in fear of their lives. No matter to Jack whether a stream or a ditch crossed his path, it was *in* one side and *out* the other in no time, like so many Newfoundland dogs. The stolid-looking boatmen who manned the craft looked on at these pranks

with wonder, ejaculating, "Eh-yaw! These foreigners are fools, or else this is an amusement. If so they will fight too much for the rebels."

In this boisterous manner the flotilla and its motley crews went on for Kuang-foo-lin, about half-way to Tsing-poo. Such a babel of tongues awakened the echoes of the route as were never heard there before. Commissaries cursing, coolies groaning, voluble Hindoostani, guttural Chinese, with good broad English and Irish resounding on all sides. At Kuang-foo-lin there was a succession of Chinese entrenched camps with mat huts, which were full of furniture taken out of the deserted houses in the surrounding villages. They were got for the accommodation of the troops in the expedition, who speedily used them for rest and comfort around the fires got up for cooking purposes.

Half a dozen tables were got together, with trunks, cases, and barrels for seats; fires lighted, potatoes put into camp-kettles with a celerity startling to the uninitiated, and only equalled by their disappearance when placed before the half-famished expectants. The scene was picturesque as well as amusing.

The flashing of the watch-fires dimly lighting up the grotesque Chinese fortification; the palisades and houses appearing now and then through the gloom of night, then glancing over the bright fire-arms and the dusky figures of the Punjaub sentries as they crossed the range of light on pacing to and fro. Every now and then was heard some song or chorus from those around the camp-fires, or the hum of conversation. By ten o'clock these sounds ceased, and nothing was to be heard but the challenge of a sentry to some straggler, the hoarse murmur of the falling waters in the creek from the distant rocks, and then the camp fell into a silent and refreshing repose.

Rain roused the expedition betimes, and every man prepared for active work. About two miles from the station was a range of hills crossing the creek, one of which is named "The Hill of Success." Here there was a strong outpost of imperial soldiers under the command of Le Hung-chang, the Governor of Kiang-soo Province, and chief statesman. A branch creek, and a road to Tsing-poo winding round the hill, while another turns to the westward. The latter

was chosen for the advance, as the enemy could be taken at a greater advantage. The forces proceeded up a wide creek, the country being highly cultivated, and the crops of clover and cereals in a forward and healthy condition. Numerous Government gun-junks accompanied the expeditionary forces, and these were fast-sailing craft, easily handled in creek navigation. The armament of each consisted of two rusty old six-pounders in the bows, a wicker basket full of loose gunpowder, and some iron cannon-balls, which were not exactly spherical, and generally a size too large or too small for the muzzle of the guns. These, with half a dozen spears and as many flags, comprised the equipment for a crew of twenty men, and these renowned "braves" of the quasi-Chinese navy considered themselves irresistibly warlike, and were proportionately impertinent and rude to their unarmed countrymen.

At six on the following morning it had ceased raining, when the French Admiral, and the English General Staveley, together with Captain Gordon, R.E., proceeded with a party in boats to reconnoitre the position at Tsing-poo. They landed about nine

hundred yards from the city wall, where there was ample cover for guns. The rebels fired round-shot at them with tolerable accuracy, but hit no one, although in one case just dropping over the boats. While this was proceeding Captain Gordon got up to a tall tower, which he ascended to survey the city and its approaches, heedless of the rebels lining the wall, who were shouting and firing rapidly. He had come up from Shanghai in the small steamer *Hyson*, which afterwards became so useful to him in his campaign, unassisted beyond the boundaries prescribed by the British, where the Tai-pings were warned not to approach the foreign settlement. Tsing-poo being the western limit of the circuit, Gordon laid down its position on his projected plan, and in a line with Kah-ding, the chief town on the northern boundary. A draft of this portion of the map first surveyed was handed to me by Lieutenant Sanford, R.E., as a correct guide in publishing my account of the expeditionary movements.

Tsing-poo is a city of the third order, similar to those already described as occupying the level lands of the Yang-tsze Delta.

The crenellated wall is circular, about three miles in extent, fifteen feet high, and pierced with gates at the north and south flanks. There are also two entrances for boats at these points, and two at the west flank, with several bridges over the canals leading to them. The suburbs for a circuit of two miles without the walls was laid waste, and country dwellings were in ruins. The walls had—what is unusual in China—a *banquette* to the parapet, and two rows of loopholes. They were partially protected by brick traverses, while wooden and brick houses were built round, and level with the upper slope of the walls, as barracks for the defenders.

The siege and capture of Tsing-poo was conducted on similar tactics to those already described at Kah-ding. Suffice it to say, the British, French, and native regiments; kept in reserve, had received orders to advance—ladder parties and storming parties were warned to move in front by land. A bridge party shoved ahead up the creek, the French taking two small guns in their launches to blow up the water-gate. The bridge having been formed, the stormers crossed and placed

their ladders against a breach made by the guns. When they climbed the wall none of the defenders were to be seen inside; so the South Gate was opened without a casualty. Then the troops marched in, while the bands played "God save the Queen."

On searching the building for barracks, these quarters were found to be comfortably fitted up with bedsteads, having mosquito-curtains hung round them, dining-rooms with chairs and tables, in many of them the bowls of rice and fish were still smoking on the board, and kettles of hot tea were found, which the rebels had left in their speedy retreat. The guns on the walls were all under cover, and had carriages like those used for ship guns. Of these five were nine-pounders, a good many six-pounders and four-pounders, several Chinese brass guns, and a large number of jingalls—some converted into breech-loaders. Flags, spears, swords, boxes of gunpowder, tubs of cartridges, English and French percussion caps, flasks of Curtis and Harvey's gunpowder, and European arms were scattered about as the rebels dropped them in their confused retreat.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMIRAL PROTET KILLED IN ACTION—NAN-JAO AND CHO-LIN CAPTURED—SHANGHAI THREATENED BY REBELS.

HITHERTO the combined expeditionary forces, comprising British and French military and naval contingents, together with the newly-raised disciplined Chinese regiment, in the eleven engagements successfully fought with the Tai-pings had suffered comparatively few casualties, and only one naval officer, Lieut. Cornewall, was killed. As the campaign proceeded, however, the commanders were not exempt from fatalities at the hands of the well-armed rebels. This in a great measure arose from the superior weapons in their possession compared to those they had at first. To the eternal disgrace of the foreign renegades who imported and smuggled these weapons, contraband of war, they sold them

for filthy lucre to the insurgents, who obtained the means to pay high prices by robbing the industrious and peaceful inhabitants, which enhanced the villany of the business.

After the recapture of Tsing-poo the forces returned by way of Soong-keong to the southern environs of Shanghai, where the rebels still held two towns and ravished the country towards the sea, and lying within the circumscribed boundary on the right bank of the Wong-poo River, or Poo-tung side. There the rebels had been roaming about for some time, robbing and murdering the quiet villagers; but when they saw the gun-boats and armed seamen they retired to the fortified towns of Nan-jao and Cho-lin. Then the country people flocked back to where the foreign forces were for protection. Small *sampans*, Imperial war-junks, flat barges, chop-boats, and cargo-boats crowded the river, laden with the mixed army of English, French, Indians, and Chinese.

Brigadier-General Staveley and Admiral Sir James Hope went on board the *Coromandel*, despatch steamer, to form their plans of attack and direct the operations. A strong breeze was blowing at the time of advance—

though the tide was favourable for the flotilla—that necessitated tracking most of the boats from the right bank of the river. In this tedious method of moving the Chinese boatmen are unusually proficient, but the Punjaubee soldiers jumped into the shallow water and then on the embankment, aiding the Chinese to tow the boats, and they got on bravely. But every now and then one would come across some disconsolate craft drifting about in a hopeless manner with half a dozen soldiers by way of freight, and one small Chinese youngster, by way of ship's company, devoid of poles or tacking-line; occasionally aground or getting into perilous positions under the bows of gun-boats, or trying to hang on to the quickly-revolving paddles of some steamship. It was a delightful day in the middle of May, the men in excellent spirits, and the flotilla looking like a peaceful though nondescript pleasure party, rather than an expedition calculated to end in battle, murder, and sudden death.

On Saturday the 17th, the expedition came within sight of Nan-jao, the first of the two strongholds to be attacked. The general and Admiral Protet made a reconnaissance.

There appeared to be good cover within a short distance of a stockade for defensive purposes. The place was more a large village than a regular built town; though it had a wall round it, with the usual square flanking defences, well supplied in guns, muskets, and large jingalls. Outside, about fifty yards from the wall, there was a square outwork mounting three small guns and some jingalls, having a look-out inside. In front of this was a deep ditch, and round its sides two more dry ditches, having sharp bamboo spikes lining their sides and bottom. The whole of the space between the foot of the wall was one labyrinth of palisading and rows of pickets with sharpened ends, rendered almost impassable with *abbatis*.

About 5 p.m. the bombardment opened from a battery of Armstrong guns fired by the artillery, mountain guns, supported by the infantry, French 32-pounders, and other pieces of ordnance, which shattered the defences of the place like so much cardboard. While this was proceeding satisfactorily in silencing the enemy's fire within the walls, a party of them got out by a gate on the left of their defences and escaped into the suburbs.

About six o'clock the general ordered the fire to cease, and with his staff rode along the embankment, close to the ditch and outwork, to see if an entrance was practicable, or otherwise, to cut off the retreat of the rebels across a breach in the walls.

Hereupon the gallant 31st Regiment, and a contingent of French sailors and marines, led on by Rear-Admiral Protet, were advancing at the double, when, lo and behold! the cunning defenders, who, with the exception of their gunners and a few musket parties, had been lying at the base of the wall and behind for protection, suddenly uttered most appalling yells, manned the wall, and directed a well-sustained fire of small arms upon the advancing force. The stormers now got under cover in the ditch and behind the shattered woodwork, but still some were wounded. The British light guns fired half-a-dozen rounds. The troops cheered, and dashed over the intervening space between the earthwork and the wall. But, having arrived there, it was exceedingly difficult to get into the town, there being no gate. The French scrambled up like so many cats, and the English crawled through the embra-

sures—which had wooden mantlets to them, hanging from the top of the sill. There was no difficulty in taking possession of this stronghold at this point; for the rebels had escaped in tolerably good order along the road to Cholin, further south, leaving not more than forty-one killed and wounded, while the main body was estimated at nearly two thousand.

Thus the attack proved successful, and the victory of the allies complete, but it was dearly bought by the French. During the rapid advance of the besiegers, when they were suddenly checked by the hidden defenders, who received them with a smart fire from foreign-manufactured rifles, Admiral Protet, while leading on his men, was the first to fall from a shot in the breast, when he fell back mortally wounded. On being carried to a place of shelter he expired by the way, about six o'clock in the evening. When it was known that Admiral Protet was dead, the gloom that spread itself over the allied force was remarkable. Beloved alike by French and English for his courage and estimable qualities, the news of his death was very severely felt. He was the first officer of the French force who was killed in the

Tai-ping campaign; and his remains were interred in the cathedral vault on the French Concession at Shanghai, with all the pomp becoming a brave officer killed in war harness. Not only did the British attend the ceremony, but the Chinese Mandarins were present on the occasion. The name-plate on his coffin stated that he was born at St. Servan, and died in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

When the parties appointed to collect the plunder stored by the rebels ransacked the heterogeneous buildings and boats, they found an unusual number of the latter, and a great many houses, which had evidently been occupied by the head men among the Tai-pings. One most remarkable fact was the discovery of a gunpowder manufactory on a complete scale, with stores of charcoal, sulphur, and nitre. There were also plenty of sieves, several grinding and mixing mills, being exactly the same kind of machines as the peasantry use for rice and other kinds of grains when cleaning it from the husks, consisting of a wooden hammer balanced on a cross-bar, worked by the feet. A good many cattle and ponies were left. All the

plunder was stored in one building, which unfortunately caught fire. The starving country people came in crowds to get back the rice which the rebels had taken from them. They even picked up handfuls here and there dropped from the baskets of those who had passed on previously to their deserted dwellings.

Without any delay the combined force prepared to advance upon Cho-lin, four miles south of Nan-jao, and a mile and a half from the sea coast. As the surviving rebels who retreated from the latter fled in that direction, it was reported that there were 10,000 fighting-men there, well armed with Tower muskets, having abundance of ammunition, and between twenty and thirty pieces of ordnance. As information of this kind had been always found to be exaggerated, not much reliance was placed on the native report; at the same time the usual precautions were taken against a surprise from either an ambuscade or junk attack on the route. Nothing of the kind was encountered, but progress was barred by the pilots of the flotilla leading it astray in taking a wrong creek among the net-work of canals and

irrigation ditches, requiring the boats to return back. That mistake was found out late in the evening, which necessitated remaining at rest until next morning, when the proper route could be seen. In about two hours a large stone bridge spanning the outer ditch surrounding the town indicated the regular approach to the place.

Cho-lin is a city of the third grade in Chinese topography, being surrounded by a crenellated wall approximating to three miles in circuit and fifteen feet in height, with four land and four water gates, at the cardinal points of the compass. Besides these a small outwork stood outside a gate at the south end of the western wall. Opposite this a high embankment, or as it is locally termed a *bund*, stretched from east to west, originally built to prevent the encroachment of the sea. On this parapet the artillery put in a commanding position their battery of Armstrong guns. Under the line of fire from these, and more advanced, the two French 32-pounders were placed, while the British pieces of the same calibre stood so that they could play on the wall to the left of the gate, and make a breach there. A party

of the 67th regiment were then marched into some houses close to the outwork which had been abandoned by the rebels, who, however, kept up a steady fire from the walls, and succeeded in killing one man and wounding another. This fire was returned by the foremost guns making good practice, to which the enemy replied with some small pieces besides jingalls and musketry. At noon the allies ceased firing and all went to tiffin. Just then a Chinese officer, well mounted, rode through the camp with a few followers, quietly observing the number and position of the troops. Every one took him for an Imperialist, so that the sentries let him pass unquestioned. But no sooner did they get beyond and neared the town, than he rode for his life, and got his followers inside the walls, when it was seen that he must be a daring Tai-ping chief.

At daylight on the 20th of May, all the guns of the combined forces being in position, opened fire simultaneously on the beleaguered city. The Armstrong guns sent the wooden sheds and defences on the walls flying about the rebels' ears, and the deep-voiced 32's played away steadily to make a breach in the

wall. After an hour's firing the advance was ordered. The French got on to the wall and over it, the 31st were well to the front, and the Punjaubees advancing rapidly. When the men were under the walls showers of bricks were thrown upon them by the defenders, but notwithstanding this, the walls were speedily manned by the troops, and the Tai-pings able to run were seen rushing through the streets in all directions, endeavouring to escape with their lives out of the doomed city. However, they had been so active in erecting baricades, in order to prevent the entrance of the forces, that they had most effectually shut themselves in, and were jammed at one of the gates, where many of them were shot down. The moat appeared full of drowned and wounded, spears by hundreds were floating on the water, and were strewn all over the ground. The frightened flying foe had even thrown away a number of their muskets, and some double-barrelled guns, a very unusual thing for the Chinese to do. The slaughter was great, as almost every house entered by the victors contained dead and dying rebels.

In the outhouses of the larger dwellings

many hundreds of cattle and ponies were stalled, each having a well-filled pigstye attached to it, while quantities of dried beef and bacon hung from the rafters. There were also immense stores of rice plundered from the villagers. Before the town had been captured, it was besieged by the inhabitants, who were in a state of starvation. Now they *came* in hundreds, increasing to thousands, for food. "Came" is not the most appropriate word to use, for no one ever saw them come. They appeared suddenly, as if they arose out of the ground, and ran any risk to get at the stores of rice they knew to be in the city. Old men, women, and children tried to rush past the sentries, and even ran the chance of being drowned in the moat to get over to the gates. After a while the order was given to admit them; and how they one and all rejoiced at the generosity of the foreign soldiers! Nothing but rice and firewood was allowed to be taken away by them.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the brigadier-general gave the order to set the rebel stronghold on fire. This was executed with such rapidity, the Indian Punjaubees charged

to secure the plunder had barely time to drive the ponies outside the walls, and most of the loot collected had to be abandoned. A great many dead bodies were burnt in the conflagration, which gave numerous ignorant rebels the idea that the foreign soldiers not only killed them, but were in the habit of roasting and eating them afterwards.

News having come that the port of Woosung, at the entrance to the Wong-poo River, was threatened by the insurgents, the whole force returned to Shanghai, after a successful campaign of seventeen days, during which Tsing-poo, Nan-jao, and Cho-lin were captured with little delay, owing to the careful perfection of the arrangements, and with a very small amount of casualties.

On arrival at headquarters, Admiral Hope and General Staveley ascertained, through reports from the advanced posts in the environs of the city, that a strong rebel force was endeavouring to recapture Kah-ding and surround the settlement of Shanghai. At the beginning of June a band of marauders appeared within a few miles of the western outskirts, robbing the peasantry and burning their homes by the way. My account of

what I witnessed on that occasion was as follows :—

"The affrighted villagers were flocking into the settlement for protection in thousands along the roads leading to the Stone Bridge and the Soo-chow Creek Bridge, while the incendiary fires among the farms and villages to the north and north-west were burning during the whole day to within three miles of the fortified post at Stone Bridge. Major Taylor, who commands there, reported the state of affairs to the general, who deemed it prudent to send the Armstrong battery of artillery to the outer defences of the settlement.

"It was a pitiful sight to see the crowds of poor villagers, chiefly old men, women, and children, trudging along with a scanty supply of food and clothing from their deserted homesteads, and left to the firebrands of the merciless Tai-pings. Many an industrious family will find on their return nothing but a mass of blackened ruins where once their cottages stood. As the evening closed in, these refugees gathered in groups on the outskirts of the settlement, about the fields, the grave-mounds, and by the wayside, where

the roads were thronged by multitudes passing to and fro. With a subdued expression and resignation to their fate, each group as it arrived took up its position for the night, after satisfying their cravings of hunger from their small stores of provisions; while the numerous eating-houses recently sprung up at the 'Bubbling Well' road were literally crammed with hungry visitors. As these crowds were chiefly congregated between the Stone Bridge Post and the new defences, they exhibited a quiet feeling of security to be allowed to rest within the British lines. Occasionally as a resident or military man passed them, a smile and a salute of 'Chin, chin!' greeted the ear as earnest thanks for the security they felt in the protection of their wives and families by foreigners, who were no longer looked on as enemies, but friends."

Reports were then received from Sung-keong that the insurgents gathered in such numbers between the headquarters of the disciplined Chinese force and the recently captured city of Tsing-poo, that all communication was stopped from the base of operations. Under these circumstances it

became necessary to open it up, and relieve the native garrison by despatching a naval contingent to their succour. Accordingly Captain Montgomerie, R.N., of H.M.S. *Centaur*, stationed at the entrance to the creek leading to Soong-keong, and Colonel Ward, determined to attack the enemy with small-arms, and two field-pieces in the charge of blue-jackets. With these they fired on 150 rebels endeavouring to scale the walls, and killed sixty of them. Admiral Hope then proceeded up the river with reinforcements to open up further communication; starting from Soong-keong up the creek with two gun-boats, the *Kestrel* and *Etoile*, and the small Imperialist steamers *Bo-peep*, *Cricket*, and *Hyson*. The last-named boat conveyed Colonel Ward, with a contingent of the disciplined troops, who led the flotilla, followed by the *Cricket*, with 100 men of the 31st and 100 Punjaub N.I., with the Marines and Naval Brigade in several boats. In the afternoon the flotilla came abreast of Kwang-foo-lin, and found it strongly intrenched by an assemblage of about 4000 rebels. At this point many of them fired from behind the bushes with large jingalls and muskets, which was replied to

by cannister and grape; while the Marines, under Major Holland, landed, and the 31st kept up a sharp fusillade from the gun-boat, killing and wounding about thirty insurgents. The enemy then fled, and the boats pushed on to Tsing-poo, stopping all night in the creek.

Next day the party entered that town, when orders were immediately given for its destruction and evacuation. Directly the rebels, who were hovering around the place, saw what was being done, they entered the gates before Ward and his men were fairly outside, and as they were filing past the walls they fired upon them, wounding several; not, however, before they had time to bring away all the guns from the embrasures, together with 40,000 peculs of rice, while they set fire to upwards of 400 boats in the canals.

Kah-ding, so recently captured, was reported to be almost invested by a different and better armed body of Tai-pings than those who had been defeated. Some prisoners who were taken near Nan-zeang stated that 10,000 insurgents had come down from Nan-king, the great south capital, then in

possession of the Tien Wang, their supreme chief, and this new army was in command of the Chung Wang, the Generalissimo of the whole rebel forces. After its capture as related, Kah-ding was handed over to the Imperialists, that they might hold it with a garrison of their own soldiery; but these were found to be such a rabble lot that not much, if any, reliance could be placed in their prowess. This was not known to the rebels, otherwise they would have attacked the town at once, but they were deterred, not knowing whether there were any European soldiers inside; so they divided their forces, with a view to blockade the gates separately and prevent any supplies from coming in.

By this time the weather was oppressively hot, creating malaria in the lowlands and marshes of the Delta; while overhead the sickly south-west monsoon swept along, with the same temperature and humidity during the day and night. This was unusually trying to the health of the troops and tars; who had to convey boats, with guns, ammunition, and supplies up narrow creeks, through a country swarming with armed rebels. The manual labour both blue-jackets and soldiers

went through was incessant; while the responsibility of the commandants was very great. Up all day and half the night; conflicting reports coming in constantly; unforeseen difficulties to be surmounted, it required not only hard work both in mind and body, on the part of subordinate officers, but constant foresight and calculation on the part of superior commanders.

At length the column came in sight of Kah-ding, and, on entering the city, found the few miserable, half-starved Chinese soldiers representing the Imperialist garrison in such a fright and hurry to leave the town they had been left to hold against the rebels, that they actually got jammed in the gateways. The military governor refused to leave the place, and, bursting into tears, said that he would remain there alone and meet the rebels, sooner than return to Shanghai, where he was certain to lose his head; so he was put on horseback, and made prisoner.

Next morning, on reconnoitring outside the walls of Kah-ding at break of day, it was discovered that the rebel host from Nanking, under the redoubtable Chung Wang,

had disappeared. A portion of the force then marched out with some field-pieces, to try and come across the enemy. As they proceeded among the farms, and through the fields of corn, they saw numerous dead bodies, here and there, of innocent country people, who had been murdered by the ruthless Tai-pings. "Villages were smouldering that these destroyers had set fire to," observed my correspondent with the expeditionary force. "Every now and then, in front, and on either side, fresh flames and smoke arose, revealing the presence of these blasphemers of the Christian creed, as some sympathizers among foreigners held them to follow. People might here ask, 'As all this was seen by the commanders of the expedition, why was not their devastating progress prevented by sending swift, well-armed parties in pursuit of the sanguinary marauders?' In answer we say, that it is simply impossible to seize the cunning, cruel cowards, in the labyrinthine lanes of the Delta. All around they have spies on our movements, and know, as well as we do, what these are, so they are comparatively safe in continuing their incendiary tactics within a few hundred yards

of our column; then off they escape through ditches and across fields, where it is impossible to get at them. This the rascals are perfectly aware of, especially if pursued by foreign soldiers, encumbered with their heavy equipment. Hunting grasshoppers in a hay-field with foxhounds would be a more sensible occupation than sending soldiers about a country intersected by a net-work of creeks, in the expectation of catching swift-footed and slippery-skinned Tai-pings."

After a fruitless search in all directions, over a circuit of four miles, the party returned to Kah-ding, and prepared to evacuate the city. This was speedily effected, and so was the march to Shanghai, by way of Nanzeang, without encountering any rebels. Then the whole foreign forces arrived at the settlement by the end of March, 1862, which closed their operations against the Tai-pings within the circumscribed boundary of thirty miles, as published in the proclamation of Admiral Sir James Hope, who shortly afterwards took his departure from China for England.

CHAPTER V.

DISCIPLINED FORCE CAPTURES KIN-SANG, LEO-HOO, TSI-KEE, FUNG-WHA, AND PAO-KONG—GENERAL WARD KILLED—BURGEVINE SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND OF THE FORCE—THEN DISMISSED.

THROUGHOUT the foregoing account of the first campaign against the Tai-ping insurgents in Kiang-soo and Che-kiang, the Disciplined Chinese Force only performed a subordinate part in the principal engagements. At the same time they improved in drill and discipline by being brigaded when in action with British and French troops. Their astute commandant, General Ward, not only saw the class of men he had, with the aptitude for foreign drill and use of arms of precision, but he observed those who were not fitted for "The Ever-victorious Army," and gradually weeded them out of his ranks. These

vacancies he filled up by recruiting for select men, even among those who had served in the rebel hordes, and thereby increased the whole strength of the corps, which soon came under the approbation of the Imperial Government. This was first mentioned in the *Peking Gazette* by the publication of a report from the renowned Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang, who was at the time Governor of Kiang-soo Province. He reported as follows, according to the translation furnished by Mr. Chaloner Alabaster, interpreter to the British Consulate at Shanghai:—

"On the 1st of May, when the city of Kah-ding was captured, Major-General Ward arranged with the English Admiral Hope and the French Admiral Protet, to proceed on to Tsing-poo, which they did on the 7th; Admirals Hope and Protet taking 2000 odd soldiers and sailors, and Ward 1600 of his men.

"The next morning at daylight the English and French commanders attacked the South and West Gates; Ward, taking his men to the East Gate, and Major-General Li Hang-kao, with the Tsing-poo magistrate,

leading the militia against the North Gate; while the water communication by the little West Gate was commanded by Colonel Huei Pinhing's fleet of gun-boats.

"The forces then advanced on all sides; the foreigners shelled and bombarded the city, and some hundred feet or so of the wall on the south-west face being broken down, the place was entered, first at the West Gate, and Ward with his force following from the East Gate, the rebels fled in confusion. On this our troops rushed on them, killing a large number. The remaining rebels, escaping out of the gate, were attacked by the foreign and native forces with great fury. The rebels being thus without means of escape, innumerable of them were drowned, a thousand slain sword in hand, thirty taken prisoners, and more than 3000 pressed men released. Then Tsing-poo was captured.

"The aid given our troops by the English and French Admirals on this occasion, shows their sincerity and good feeling, and deserves honour. We direct, therefore, the Acting Governor to convey them our approbation and thanks. Let, also, brevet Major-General

Ward be promoted to Major-General, and let the Tsing-poo magistrate, Liao Chih-woo, in consideration of the part he took in the recapture, be pardoned his previous loss of the city, though his rank will be taken from him. We direct, likewise, Li Hung-chang to report all the other officers and men who distinguished themselves in the course of the affair. Respect this!"

As the summer advanced, everything became tranquil in and around the neighbourhood of Shanghai. The Tai-ping rebels had evacuated the district within the thirty-mile boundary, and the industrious inhabitants had returned to their homesteads and occupations. It was remarkable to see the rapidity with which these people rose out of a state of apparently hopeless depression, and restored their farms and villages to comparative prosperity. A stranger travelling through the country recently occupied by the rebels, could scarcely believe that it had been devastated by fire and sword two months previously. The cottages, certainly, showed the effects of the firebrand, but the fields were as smiling as ever. There the plodding tillers of the soil were seen in thousands

raising their crops of rice and cotton; thankful to the invincible foreigner, under whose protection they were again able to pursue their avocations in peace. Moreover, in this state of repose, the British and French forces who had borne the brunt of the battles were recovering from their fatigues and ailments, to recuperate their energies.

Beyond the boundary, away towards the central and northern districts of the vast Yang-tsze Delta, the country continued to be scourged by the blasphemers of God and man. To pursue the flying insurgents who had survived the scathing chastisement received from the foreign forces whose religion they scandalized by the assumption of divine brotherhood by their leaders, was not included in the British proclamation. Consequently the further operations attempted to crush the rebellion devolved alone upon the Imperialists with their soldiery, militia, and disciplined force. As already stated, the newly raised corps had been considerably augmented during the two years of its existence, having increased from 200 infantry, badly armed with old muskets and matchlocks, to 1200 men, drilled in

manual and platoon exercise, carrying breach-loading rifles; and with a battery of twelve-pounder howitzers and two thirty-two-pounder guns, admirably handled by a corps of native artillerymen, with foreign officers. Those who witnessed their evolutions, quickness and courage in action, and who were able to speak from experience, considered that the Chinese furnished the best raw material they had seen for military service when properly officered, outside European troops, and were equal to the best in the British Indian army. This, of course, was due to the American, James Ward, who originated the scheme of training natives to foreign warfare, and he was complimented by the general on his success, who introduced the system by sending English non-commissioned officers to drill a contingent in the Imperial army. Ward, who was no more than an ordinary civilian, possessed of pluck and perseverance, was proud of his rank as Major-General in the Chinese service, as announced in the *Peking Gazette*, and was said to have ambitious hopes of rising to a higher command just before his career was closed on the field of battle. Meanwhile, he

saw that the prestige of the corps must be kept up by preparing to encounter the rebels, in conjunction with the Imperial soldiers, or failing them, alone, as it would never do to keep his men in barracks at Soong-keong at a heavy expense, and losing discipline.

About two months after the decisive battle at Cho-lin, an opportunity occurred for General Ward to test his capabilities in tactics, and his men in valour, in an action at Kin-sang, a town to the westward of Shanghai, which the rebels had made a stronghold for 5000 Tai-pings. In the early part of July, 1862, a contingent of redoubtable imperial soldiers marched on the outworks of the defences, with their flags flying and gongs beating in grandiloquent style, intending to "eat up the *Chang-mous*," or long-haired ruffians. In this, however, they did not succeed. On the contrary, as they attacked an outpost, of no formidable kind, the defenders received them with a sharp fusillade, which drove them back at the first onset, and ultimately repulsed the attack with heavy loss to the Imperialists. Instead of returning to the charge as brave men would have done, they retired in a cowardly manner to a respectful

distance, and waited for the appearance of the disciplined force, who were expected to join them there. This had been their pusillanimous conduct in all similar actions, where Ward's force or the foreign troops had to do the fighting. If that campaign against the Tai-pings depended on the old rotten regiments of the Chinese Emperor, in all probability the rebellion would have continued to the present day, and his Majesty still tottering on his throne.

What was done, as already stated, to check the progress of the devastating hordes, was gallantly followed up by General Ward and his men. They arrived near Kin-sang on the 16th of July, 1862, with their battery of howitzers and thirty-two-pounders, mustering 1200 infantry, exclusive of artillerymen. Next day the rebels came outside, apparently intending to defeat the new troops as they did the old soldiers, but they soon found their mistake. A well-directed volley from musketry and rifles spread havoc among them, and when this was succeeded by grape-shot and shells from the guns, they retired in terror within the walls. Then these were bombarded by round-shot until a breach was

made, when the besiegers rushed in and captured the city, the whole affair scarce occupying six hours, when darkness came on. Under cover of night the rebels evacuated the city, and the next day it was handed over to the Imperialists.

News of depredations came immediately after this success, that Leo-poo, a considerable village on the eastern shore of the Delta, washed by the waters of the Yang-tze, had been strongly fortified by about 2000 insurgents, and 800 Cantonese pirates from South China, bent purely upon plunder. Ward's force attacked the post vigorously on the 25th of the month. It was found to be a stronghold skilfully constructed as a fort, and entirely surrounded by water. However, its battlements quickly crumbled away under the well-directed fire of the guns, which completely destroyed it; while the musketry and rifle fire decimated the number of the enemy, only four of the force being killed or wounded. These marauders from the south had captured or stolen over 100 junks of various tonnage, seventy of the best being sent to Shanghai, and the remainder burned.

Retracing their fatiguing march across the Delta, the force were directed to Tsing-poo, which was again in the hands of the insurgents. Arriving in the neighbourhood of the city, Ward's force was strengthened by the addition of a 32-pounder Dahlgren gun, mounted on a small steamer, which had come up the Soo-chow Creek from Shanghai on the 5th of August. At the time of the attack the city was defended by 6000 insurgents. Since its loss two months previously they had strengthened the walls, and among additions had thrown up an inner breastwork of clay on the ramparts, some ten feet thick and twelve feet high. This gave the defenders good cover, and rendered the fire from the 12-pounder howitzers of no effect against the crenellated part of the wall. On the morning of the attack the enemy received a reinforcement of 3000 men from Soo-chow, the headquarters of the rebel forces in the Delta.

Two breaches were made in the walls at the first bombardment, and an attempt to enter by assault miscarried. This was caused by inexperienced boatmen conveying a portion of the assaulting party to form a bridge

across the creek not coming up to time. General Ward, unwilling to expose his force to the loss that appeared inevitable if the breach was attempted without the scaling-ladders, sounded the recall, and made preparations for the morrow.

On the 9th of August, at six in the morning, the besiegers again opened fire from a 32-pounder at 350 yards, and another effective breach was made in about an hour and a half. Under cover of a sharp fire of shell on the breach and neighbouring parapets the head of the advancing column rushed up the way, carrying all before them. Then the storming-party leapt over the breach and entered the city, driving the defeated rebels before them like a flock of sheep. A panic took place among them, and although numbering four times the strength of their assailants, they fled precipitately through the streets and out at the gates, where a great many were slaughtered. The loss to Ward's force in this affair was not over 110 killed and wounded, and 64 drowned or missing, during the siege of five days. The loss to the rebels, as far as could be ascertained, was very great, they having taken away 1100 wounded, and

leaving about half that number of dead and dying behind, together with 300 and upwards taken prisoner. The disciplined force occupied the town from nine in the morning until six in the evening, collecting loot; and, as usual, handed the place over to the Imperialists, who had been resting all day in their camp at a distance of six miles from the walls.

After that successful engagement, showing the prowess of the Disciplined Chinese Force and the generalship of Commandant Ward, they were employed in several minor fights with the Tai-pings, and restoring captured towns to their former condition. Those rebels who had survived the conflicts in the southern districts of the Delta began to ravage the country to the westward, into the province of Che-kiang. Some time previous to this movement in the autumn of 1862, the walled city of Fung-wha, situated to the south of Ningpo, had been captured by the allied forces, and the rebels driven out with heavy slaughter. Now those in flight from the eastward attacked Fung-wha, which was garrisoned by the pusillanimous Imperial troops, recaptured the city, and held it by a

numerous host. Not content with this, a large body of them advanced upon Ningpo, robbing and murdering the industrious inhabitants, and burning their villages and farmsteads, so that the former state of anarchy was renewed by these blasphemous anarchists, who never attempted to restore law and order.

These important seaports are situated on the west shore of Hang-chow Bay, where vessels of large tonnage from abroad navigate its waters, while the districts form a kind of peninsula, formed by the River Min. In September, Ward's force entered this district, and in conjunction with Captain Dew and his naval contingent from H.M.S. *Encounter*, stationed there, endeavoured to drive the rebels away and recapture Tse-kee Hyen, a walled city of the third grade. The defences of this post held by the enemy were skilfully fortified in the European style, showing that foreigners were assisting the rebels. On the 22nd of the month the combined naval and native forces besieged the walls in the usual manner, Ward's men leading the way. Their gallant commander was conspicuous in the advance to assault the city, when a rifle-shot

from the crenellated wall struck him in the breast, and killed him. Notwithstanding this unexpected loss, his force rushed through the forlorn hope and avenged his death by slaughtering the enemy in hundreds near the breach, spreading consternation among the remainder in the town, few of whom escaped through the gates or water-ways. On the northern side these were commanded by rocks rearing their heights within and without, which diversified the usual flat ground in and around the Yang-tsze Delta.

Of course the death of General Ward was the important event of the day, and for a long time afterwards, as it became a matter of much difficulty to find a fit successor to him in command of the Chinese Disciplined Force, that owed its origin and organization to him. Remarks were freely expressed and printed on the character and career of the deceased, the most favourable coming from the representatives of his country and countrymen. Without quoting any of these, it may be said all agreed, that, whatever General Ward's antecedents may have been, it was impossible to deny him the possession of sterling stuff, as regards his courage and

coolness in battle, together with talents, not merely to have enabled him to attain to the height of a respectable military position, but to keep himself there in spite of enemies among the military mandarins. When in action he never flourished a weapon, but directed his men with a walking-cane, a style of command followed by his successor, Gordon.

Various opinions were volunteered, and some of them entertained, as to the steps best to be taken in the appointment of a successor to General Ward at the time. The general choice among the foreign community, especially the Americans, pointed to Colonel Burgevine, his right-hand lieutenant in all the actions and drills. It was said that the Chinese authorities considered him a brave leader of "The Ever-victorious Army," who would be obeyed by the force. Meanwhile, under a British officer they were disobedient, as will be seen in the following account of the next engagement at Fung-wha :—"Reliable information having reached the British authorities, of the rebel raid at Fung-wha, it was deemed advisable, for the safety of the city and foreign settlement of Ning-po,

to reduce the city of Fung-wha, one of the new strongholds of the Tai-pings. Accordingly, on the 8th of October, Captain Dew, of H.M.S. *Encounter*, advanced up the River Min, with the gunboats *Hardy* and *Flamer;* the French war-steamer *Deroulade*, and the Chinese steamer *Confucius*, having on board the small-arm men of the *Encounter* and *Sphinx;* three English, and two Chinese howitzers, and 1000 of the disciplined troops trained by the late General Ward, and commanded by Colonel Forrester.

On arriving at a bridge some twenty miles from Ningpo, the expedition landed, and marched to Fung-wha, a distance of twelve miles from the river. After some difficulty in assembling the Chinese force, and carrying the guns and ammunition during the night, they arrived on the morning of the 9th, and took up a position outside the city walls. Colonel Forrester, of the Chinese contingent, having arranged with Captain Dew the plan of attack, advanced with 600 men and two guns upon the East Gate, and took up a position with the three guns under Lieutenant Bosanquet, at 200 yards' range from the walls —where a storming party of 400 Chinese

troops were to advance, covered by the marines and small-arm men.

In the afternoon the guns opened fire upon the parapet on each side of the gateway, which the rebels responded to from the walls by one gun and some musketry. Captain Dew, having destroyed a portion of the parapet by the well-directed fire of his guns, ordered Major Rhode to advance with his ladders, and storm, at the same time running the guns to within fifty yards of the walls. The ladder-party, in the interim, advanced rapidly to the gate, when they met with a heavy and destructive fire from the walls. Most of the ladder-bearers were killed, or severely scorched by showers of stink-pots, fire-balls, and powder-bags, combustibles used in native warfare to burn and suffocate their foes. Upon this, Ward's troops, who were marching boldly on, retreated. To reassure them, and lead them on to the attack, Commander Jones, with twenty small-arm men, advanced to the front, where he most gallantly led on, through a similar fiery ordeal. Lieutenants Davis and Tinling, Mr. Douglas, Midshipman, and Mr. Coker, Master's Assistant of the *Sphinx*, disencumbering the

ladders from the dead, carried them up to the city walls. The Ward troops would not follow, so Commander Jones, with a small party, attempted to cut through the gate, but found solid stonework beyond. The attack on the other gates having failed, and the night, by this time setting in, Captain Dew deemed it advisable to withdraw his men and guns, and send back to the river for gunpowder breakers to blow the gates open, as with a petard.

On the following morning, the 10th of October, the attacking party espied a Taiping rebel horde, estimated roughly at 6000 men and youths, mostly armed, advancing along the level land in the environs of Fungwha, evidently with the intention of reinforcing the enemy. Immediately a plan of attack upon this formidable body of insurgents was arranged between Captain Dew and Colonel Forrester. Major Rhode, with 500 of the disciplined Chinese, and the marines from the *Encounter*, under Midshipman Douglas, crossed a creek, and headed the rebels in their onward movement; while Captain Dew advanced with Colonel Forrester, taking a 32-pounder to pierce their centre

and left flank. Both attacks were successful. They routed the rebels, who, taking to the hills, left behind them a large quantity of gunpowder, provision stores, and plunder from the surrounding villages; together with upwards of 1000 country people forcibly pressed into their horde, and branded on the face with hot irons, having raised Taiping characters, to make them slaves. These peasants were not only released, but supplied with provisions and portions of the plunder taken from them.

By this time the gunpowder for petards had arrived from the man-of-war, and Captain Dew had arranged to breach the walls and take them by storm at daybreak the following morning, the small-arm seamen being held in reserve with two guns. It was ascertained, however, about 2 a.m., that the insurgents had been secretly evacuating the city throughout the night. When daylight came this was found to be the case, for the enemy had taken to flight, leaving lots of "loot" behind and many of the dead and wounded in action. The atrocities committed by them on the unoffending peasantry exceeded belief. In one spot upwards of a hundred bodies of men,

horribly mutilated, lay heaped together, who had suffered death from refusing to carry the rebel plunder. The casualties during the engagement among the English force comprised twenty-four men wounded, some dangerously. An officer in Ward's force was killed, two wounded, and several men lost. The French had two or three men wounded.

The recapture of Fung-wha from the devastating horde that had overrun the surrounding country over hill and plain became a blessing to the bereaved inhabitants. They flocked back to their deserted homes in thousands in order to reap the abundant rice crops left standing, which covered the plain with a verdant mantle, and, now in ear, saved them from fear of starvation during the rigours of winter in North China—then close at hand. Captain Dew and his naval contingent returned to their ships, and the city was left in charge of the disciplined Chinese. Shortly afterwards the Imperial soldiery, who had kept out of the way during the engagement, garrisoned the city, and thereby allowed their brave countrymen, now forming the "Ever-victorious Army," to depart for their headquarters at Soong-

keong, where the Chinese mandarins and the British General were in consultation as to the appointment of a capable successor to General Ward. As to the temporary command of Colonel Forrester, it was evident he could not become permanent leader of the corps, as the men had evinced their disobedience under him at the siege of Fung-wha.

On consideration of all the circumstances attending the formation of the force, it was found that Colonel Burgevine had assisted General Ward materially in recruiting and drilling the men. The chief objection to him was his being a younger man, and not so steady in his habits, without commanding that respect which was necessary in a successful leader. However he was appointed to the command in the latter part of October, and took the field with his men at the beginning of November, 1862.

The Imperial garrison, at that time quartered in Tsing-poo, having sent several alarming reports to Soong-kiong that a vast rebel horde was assembling in the neighbourhood, Colonel Burgevine proceeded to make a reconnaissance in force in that direction. On the 7th of that month he marched

out with four guns, two mortars, and 1000 men, accompanied by the steamer *Hyson*, for transport purposes, as the roads were found almost impassable between Soong-kiong and Tsing-poo. No enemy could be found in the locality, or the numbers reported by the Imperialists; but on the following day a strong intrenched camp, formed by fifteen stout stockades, and estimated to shelter some 10,000 men, was discovered at a large village, about twelve miles north-east of Tsing-poo, named Pao-kong, or Po-wo-kong, on the road to Kah-ding.

Without waiting for reinforcements, the colonel and his officers selected the largest stockade on the northern side of the creek for the point of attack, and the guns were put in position against it. The rebels, seeing this, brought the bands of men in the minor stockades to reinforce the greater defensive work. For upwards of an hour the siege was conducted with unceasing bombardment, and stubbornly defended. At last a wide breach was made in the barricade. Then the storming party advanced, gallantly led by Wong-ee-poo, a young Chinese officer of the force, who had been promoted to the rank

of captain a few days previously. Admiral Hope had witnessed his bravery in action, and, as a token of appreciation for his valour, presented him with his own sword worn during the late campaign. The brave young fellow was the first in the field, when he, unhappily, received a mortal wound. He handed the much-valued sword to Colonel Burgevine, whom he begged to keep it and to give his young wife a few dollars to keep her from want. This was his last request.

After the loss of their stockades the rebels fought desperately in the streets, and were three times brought back to the charge by a brave-spirited young chief, whose gallant bearing and trappings of his steed attracted great attention. At the last charge he was encountered by a well-known messenger of the late General Ward, named Vincente, who fearlessly spurred his horse into the dense phalanx of rebels, and shot the chieftain dead. Those rebels made prisoner said he was the Mo-wang, one of the highest leaders in the Tai-ping hierarchy; but this was erroneous, as that arch-rebel was alive at Nanking; however, he may have been his son. His horse was caparisoned by silver

bells on his bridle, and gay ornaments on his uniform, the rider wearing stirrups of pure massive silver.

At length the insurgents who survived were driven through the village of Pao-kong, after fighting for an hour and a quarter. Outside the streets their flight was checked by a deep wide creek, and they suffered there terribly from the fire of the battery of artillery attached to the corps. The shells from the small brass mortars produced a most deadly effect, and were well handled by the Chinese gunners. From 700 to 800 were killed in the stockades and village, while nearly 2000 were drowned in the deep wide creek, while trying to avoid capture. The remainder then endeavoured to escape towards Tai-tsan and Quin-san in an easterly direction, but were intercepted by a strong body of Imperial soldiers, who made their appearance, as usual, after the fighting was over.

The entire rebel loss was not less than 2300 killed and drowned, 600 dead being counted in the stockades. Prisoners to the number of 700 and upwards were captured, while those who had escaped the sanguinary

engagement became broken up and dispersed over the country. The intrenched camp was not quite finished, but there was every proof that the rebels intended to occupy the place permanently. Colonel Burgevine's casualties among his gallant corps, compared to that of the enemy, was of the most trifling character, comprising only five killed and fifteen wounded, the latter number including three Europeans. The body of Wong-ee-poo was buried with military honours at Soong-keong.

On the return of the successful contingent to Soong-keong the new commandant of the "Ever-victorious Army" became ambitious to increase the force and extend the accommodation for them at headquarters. This was judiciously commenced by Colonel Burgevine, as it would increase his popularity and control over the disciplined infantry and artillery, and also the foreign officers, whom he freely recommended to promotion and consequent increase of pay. However, he was not a man who carefully estimated the cost, or considered how the means were to be obtained, without obtaining the sanction of the Mandarins, who were the Government paymasters. Be that as it may, he employed

outside labourers to construct additions to the defences of Soong-keong, in order to render it the strongest fortified city in China.

A military road from the city to the River Wong-poo, leading to the estuary of the Yang-tsze Kiang, was in the course of completion. At the river end of this road a pier would be built, alongside of which steamers could load and unload, without the delay and confusion involved in conveying the troops in boats from the shore to the ship. The comforts of the men would be thereby enhanced, as many things were often overlooked or left behind when a hurried embarkation in small and inconvenient boats was necessary. Moreover, this road, constructed parallel to the creek, which previously was the only entrance to Soong-keong from the river, commanded its course, and would render it impossible to block up the water communication to and from the city. Besides this advantage, the road itself would be commanded by two 32-pounders at the city end, and by a steamer with an armed crew, and mounting guns at the river end. Fortifications on the newest plans had already

been built, the old walls strengthened, and the city everywhere placed in a state of defence against any force the insurgents could bring against it. Parade-grounds were likewise being rapidly formed on an extensive scale so as to allow of the force being put through brigade as well as battalion drill. Altogether works were projected both for offensive and defensive warfare, and in a manner which was anticipated neither to injure the spirit or nationality of the Chinese Disciplined Force or the Imperialist Mandarins responsible for the outlay to the Governor of Kiang-soo Province. These improvements were commenced at the beginning of November, 1862, and were carried on without a murmur to the end of December.

This satisfactory progress of affairs at Soong-keong suddenly came to a close by an outrageous act of the commandant against the chief Chinese official charged with paying the disciplined force. On the 4th of January, 1863, General Burgevine arrived in Shanghai from Soong-keong, and marched into the Settlement with his body-guard. Leaving them outside the residence of Ta-

kee, a mandarin of considerable wealth and influence, who acted as financial officer to the disciplined corps, he entered the premises in a hostile mood. It was stated afterwards that an altercation commenced immediately between them, which led to recriminations on both sides. A good deal of violent language was used, Ta-kee being able to speak broken English fluently. This ended in Burgevine striking the mandarin in the face with his clenched fist, until he drew blood. Afterwards he went to the entrance of the *Yameen*, and called his body-guard into the Treasury, known by him to be there, under the control of Ta-kee. Then he ordered his men to take from the chests dollars and sycee silver in ingots to the amount of 10,000*l.* English money.

In the *North China Herald* I commented very strongly on this high-handed, scandalous proceeding, which elicited an explanation from him at a personal interview on board the *Hyson* steamer. He excused himself by declaring that his men at Soong-keong were in a state of mutiny, from not receiving their arrears of pay, and he had applied in vain to the Chinese authorities for money to do so,

otherwise serious consequences would happen at headquarters. It appeared that the mode in which they were paid was by special agreement to receive in cash twice a month, at the rate of eight dollars, equivalent to 2*l.* per month, the men supplying themselves with food and lodging. Instead of living in barracks, they resided where they chose, and got their meals at the numerous eating-houses in the city and suburbs, and from peripatetic vendors of food. All efforts to introduce the European system of rations had been rejected by the men with suspicion and contempt. As it was, their mode of living depended on their cash in pocket. This they spent freely, so if kept in arrears of pay, they became discontented and refused frequently to do duty.

On the 30th of December Ta-kee, the Intendant of Finance, arrived at Soongkeong, and gave out through his *compradores*, or paymasters, that the money was ready in Shanghai to pay the two months' arrears due to the force, then increased to 5000 men of all ranks. Previous to this, they had posted up a notice stating that the mandarins were withholding their pay; and if the money did

not arrive within three days, they would cut off the heads of every Chinese official in Soong-keong, and refuse to obey the orders of their foreign officers. This mutinous threat alarmed the Imperialists, who urged Burgevine to get the money, even if he seized it from wealthy tradesmen and others in Soong-keong. He preferred, however, to go down and see Ta-kee as related, which led to his dismissal from the Chinese service, as notified in the following proclamation of the Foo-tai, the highest official in Shanghai :—

"The Chinese authorities hereby give notice that Burgevine, having been guilty of treason in refusing to obey instructions, striking a mandarin, and robbing the Treasury of public money, has been degraded by his Excellency the Foo-tai, and removed from his post of Commandant of the Ever-victorious Army (Ward's men). Burgevine's command ceased on the 4th of January, 1863."

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTAIN HOLLAND, M.L.I., APPOINTED—EXPEDITION TO TAI-TSANG—BOMBARDMENT AND ASSAULT REPULSED—DISASTROUS DEFEAT, WITH HEAVY LOSS.

UNDER the extraordinary circumstances briefly related in the foregoing chapter, the condition of the Disciplined Chinese Force became a matter of importance, not only to the native authorities, but to the foreign forces with whom they were brigaded to fight and suppress the rebels. If they seceded from the Imperialists, it was just possible that many of them would join the rebel ranks and pay themselves by plunder. To avoid such a serious defection, the arrears of pay were duly divided among the troops at Soong-keong, and arrangements made to meet the future disbursements as they became due. By this time the strength of the force had

increased to upwards of 5000 Chinese, including artillerymen, infantry rank and file, with native non-commissioned officers and fifty-one foreign officers.

Burgevine had spared no effort to raise the "Ever-victorious Army" to that strength; and by the introduction of English drill-instructors, while gradually improving the class of officers, had greatly contributed to its more efficient organization. Several meetings took place between the British authorities, represented by General Staveley, and the Mandarins, to consider the appointment of a successor to the command. The latter informed the former that an officer in the English army would have the preference. There were several candidates in the field, among whom Dr. Macartney, who had resigned his post as surgeon in the 99th Regiment, but had not yet entered the Chinese service, was one. General Staveley advocated the appointment of Captain Gordon, R.E., who, as already stated, was busily engaged surveying the country. Then, Captain Holland, of the Marine Light Infantry, was nominated, as the most eligible officer of rank, not restricted to his duties

on board ship. Some objections were made to him on personal grounds, but he was subsequently chosen as the new commandant.

Captain Holland arrived at headquarters on the 14th of January, 1863, and immediately producing his credentials to the foreign officers and native authorities, issued a general order stating that he had been invested with the military rank of *Chun-tai*, signifying general of brigade, and the rank of Tao-tai, to give him authority in civil cases over the *Foo* of Soong-keong. The same evening the sum of sixty thousand dollars was sent to liquidate all arrears of pay. Several other Chinese dignitaries arrived from Shanghai to confer with General Holland as to the strength, discipline, disbursements, and future management of the force committed to his command. The labours of this commission were brought to a conclusion after a week's conference, and resulted in the following reforms of the force:—

Recent events having shown that the mode of paying the men and furnishing the money was unsatisfactory, and likely to lead to complications at a future time; consequently the

men were to be paid out of the Imperial treasury, as represented by the Hai-quan Bank at Shanghai. The payment to be secured by drafts upon that bank, and held by the commanding officer. On the arrival of each pay-day the money was to be drawn from the bank in Mexican dollars—there being no native silver coin in China—and placed in the hands of the Chinese paymasters of the force, who pay them under a foreign paymaster-general; so that there will be a double set of accounts in English and Chinese.

In like manner muster-rolls were to be kept in both these languages, containing the name, age, place of birth, date of enlistment, &c., of every man in the corps; and, likewise, every supernumerary in the establishment, such as servants, horse-boys, boatmen, crews of steamers, and all to be placed under the direct control of the commandant, who shall hold the sole power of appointment and dismissal. It was found that a large uncontrolled expenditure was incurred in hiring outside labourers for porter work, of which no accurate account was kept; instead of this, a coolie corps of 300 men was enrolled,

doing duty more efficiently at a great saving to the revenue.

Next came a necessary curtailment of the steam flotilla, which had all along been a costly arm of the service. Of the number of hired steamers hitherto employed, two only were retained—the *Hyson* and *Zingari*—and these were to be thoroughly equipped and efficiently armed as small vessels of war, for the purpose of guarding the approaches by water to Soong-keong, in case of an advance of the rebels; also to keep up regular steam and postal communication with Shanghai. The useless Chinese armed junks with their crews, numbering some 300 men, had their guns taken out, and were turned into cargo boats for the conveyance of baggage, troops, and ordnance; also to be used as floating bridges across creeks, retaining on board only a sufficient number of hands to act as steersmen, while they were being towed by the steamers, or tracked by the soldiers.

Of reduction in the strength of the force, a regiment drilled by Lieutenant Kingsley, of the 67th, was withdrawn, and marched down to Shanghai; and a portion of the troops arrived from Ningpo, for a proposed expedi-

tion to Nan-king, were sent back. Thus the force was reduced to a fixed establishment, and to consist of 3000 rank and file, 300 coolie corps, 100 boatmen and the crews of the war-steamers, exclusive of foreign officers, hospital staff, interpreters, and others.

The armament of the artillery was to consist of two 32-pounder siege guns, sixteen British naval 12-pounder Howitzers, twelve American 12-pounder Howitzers, two 8-inch mortars, and four Cohorn mortars. These were exclusive of the garrison guns, mounted on the walls of Soong-keong, comprising four 32-pounders, and two 18-pounders; the whole of these guns were provided each with 300 rounds of ammunition.

Respecting the equipment and small arms of the force, these were found to be excellent. First in order was the body-guard of 100 men, who were armed with the short French rifle and sword-bayonet. These men were the *élite* of the corps, selected for distinguished gallantry in the field and general good conduct. They had never misbehaved either in action or in garrison; and had been repeatedly employed in suppressing disturbances among the other soldiers. The rifle

battalion, 650 strong, was armed with the German government rifle and bayonet; and the remainder of the infantry with the new British Tower musket, recently imported from London. The whole force had been re-armed, and equipped throughout with buff-leather belts and other accoutrements, exactly the same as are worn by the British infantry of the line.

Concerning the uniform, it was made easy and suitable for the climate. A bright green turban formed the head-gear of all ranks. The jackets of every branch of the service were made of English cloth, and cut in shape something between those of the Zouave and Highland regiments. Those of the body-guard were dark blue, with scarlet facings and green shoulder-straps, bearing their designation in Chinese characters. Those of the artillery were light blue with the same facings, scarlet shoulder-straps, and a broad scarlet stripe down the trousers. The infantry wore a rifle-green uniform; the different battalions being distinguished by the colours of the shoulder-straps, on which were stamped the wearer's regimental number in English and Chinese. The whole force

wore knickerbocker trousers the colour of their jackets; and as they preferred the Chinese shoes with satin uppers and thick felt soles, under gaiters, to any foreign boots or shoes, they were allowed to wear them. This was the winter uniform. In summer they were clad in a white dress with red facings, similar to the *kakee* clothes worn by British troops in India. Thus the disciplined Chinese soldier received two suits of clothing a year, together with a coloured blanket, red or blue, which he wore on ordinary occasions like a Highland plaid, thereby adding greatly to the picturesque appearance of the uniform, which was pronounced to be one of the most convenient and serviceable worn by any native corps in Asia. The pay of the private soldier was eight dollars per month, out of which he supplied himself with rations and fuel, except when on the line of march or in the field, when these were furnished by the Government.

From the grades of sergeant-major the most distinguished and efficient men were selected, and promoted to the ranks of lieutenants and captains—the duties of these responsible posts being generally performed

by them in an efficient and satisfactory manner. This was especially the case with the body-guard of the commandant, which was entirely Chinese, men and officers. The captain of the company at that time, named Yan Kwi-tsin, was a fine, handsome fellow, six feet two inches high—a height not uncommon among the northern Chinamen, where Chang, the giant, seven feet high, was born, while the Cantonese and the men in the south are undersized. That native officer gained his first commission for repeated acts of gallantry in the field and distinguished service while standard-bearer to General Ward. The appearance, discipline, and conduct of his company afforded the best proof of what the Chinese were capable of being moulded into as soldiers and officers when under European supervision.

During the term of its existence since the formation of the pioneer company up to that of its reorganization, about a year and a half, it was estimated that the force had fought in seventy-two engagements against the Taiping rebels, and never had been defeated. This gallant prestige was not only appreciated by the foreign officers and the imperial autho-

rities at Soong-keong, as it was the means of bringing the best recruits to the standard, but the Supreme Government at Peking held the force in a higher estimation than they did that of the Imperial army—an effete and cowardly class of soldiery. Hence the Tsung-lee Yameen, or Board of Foreign Affairs, induced the Empress Regent to designate the corps officially as the *Chang-sheng-chume*, which, being translated into English, signifies "THE EVER-VICTORIOUS ARMY"—a name by which it was known throughout the empire until it was disbanded by General Gordon, after performing wonderful exploits under his command. It must be remembered, however, that it received this magniloquent title, after the flowery style of the Chinese language, before his advent, as herein recorded, from the *Peking Gazette* of January, 1863.

Under these unusually favourable auspices General Holland entered upon his onerous duties at Soong-keong. The men were not enthusiastic on the occasion, but as his appointment was accompanied by the prompt payment of arrears in hard cash, they seemed satisfied, and no signs of disaffection were

shown. Their new commander was well-known to the men, as he had been in all the engagements with the combined forces—French and Chinese—and led on his gallant corps of marines from the fleet with bravery and success. It was therefore anticipated that he would equal, if not excel, his predecessors, Ward and Burgevine—being civilians—in his practical knowledge of military tactics. In my capacity as editor of the *North China Herald*, I commented favourably on the appointment, in reviewing the situation, as follows:—

"While recently the disaffection among the disciplined Chinese troops through mismanagement caused many reflecting people in Shanghai to dread their proximity, now, on the contrary, we look to that force as another and a strong arm of protection from the Tai-ping invader. Should the system of organization and retrenchment, so well begun, be carried out satisfactorily for the future, in the field as well as in the garrison, it is to be hoped that no change will be made in the chief command, and that General Holland will retain his present position, for which his experience in Tai-ping warfare and personal

military qualifications, we have every reason to believe, fit him for that important post."

How my sanguine anticipations were disappointed at the outset of Holland's brief career, when he brought the "Ever-victorious Army," in his first and only engagement with rebels, to a disastrous defeat, will be presently shown.

Preparations were in progress during the first week in February to equip a strong expedition for Tai-tsang Chow, a walled city thirty miles north of Soong-keong, about the same distance north-west of Shanghai, and some twelve miles south-west of the Yang-tsze Kiang, to which there is water communication by a creek. It was reported that an unusually large body of insurgents had captured the city, driven the Imperial garrison out, and plundered the peaceable inhabitants, while they forced the men to join their ranks under pain of death, and ravished the young women. From its proximity to the great river, most of these marauders came by water, capturing all the fishing and trading junks in the estuary; until a horde of 7000 or 8000 rebels had turned the town into a formidable stronghold. There was ample accommodation

for the ruffians after they had driven out the aged people, women, and children, as the town, though only of the third grade, was larger than usual. Instead of being circular, the walls were built in an oblong form, straight towards the north-east, and arched to the south-west, with double inner defences, crossed in the middle, the whole exhibiting a ground-plan not unlike that of a cathedral in the cruciform style. Like all the other cities and towns on the plains of the Yang-tsze Delta, Tai-tsang has the usual creek communication with the Wong-poo River at its southern reach in connection with Soong-keong, so that boats could navigate the whole distance. This was important for the conveyance of the expeditionary force, as the roads in that muddy region were almost impassable from the heavy rains that prevailed.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 10th of February, the rain, which had been pouring all night at Soong-keong, began gradually to clear away, until about nine o'clock, when the first boat left the city, carrying guns and artillerymen, it almost ceased. After proceeding about a mile up the creek, the leading boats halted to allow the remainder of the

convoy and the troops to assemble. A little before eleven, the leading column issued from the North Gate, and half an hour later the whole force was in movement, along the right bank of the creek towards Pao-kiong. It was only when beholding the whole expedition assembled, that one realized how large a force could be sent into the field from head-quarters. This was the largest expedition that had yet left the city. It consisted of 2500 men, all well armed and equipped, besides twenty-two pieces of ordnance, with abundance of ammunition. There were two 8-inch mortars, with 200 shell, four $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch mortars, with 300 shell, four 32-pounders, with 200 shot and 200 shell, ten 12-pounder howitzers, and two 4-2-5-pounder howitzers, each with 200 round shot and shell. There were 700 artillerymen to work the batteries.

Besides the guns and mortars, the boats were laden with ample supplies of pork, rice, firewood, cooking apparatus, tents, scaling-ladders, and even lanterns for night use; in short, it was understood that every requirement had been fully provided. It turned out, however, that some essential implements were wanting. This was felt during the first

day's march, in consequence of the number of bridges across the creeks demolished by the astute enemy. However, precautions having been taken to provide portable bridges, made of planks lashed across bamboo-poles, there was no serious impediment to progress. The horses and ponies had to swim such creeks as were not fordable, the bridges being too slight to bear their weight. Earthworks had been thrown up alongside of many of the broken bridges, showing that the rebels had once an idea of defending them. Just as it was becoming dark, another of these impassable creeks was encountered, and, as no sign of a village could be seen, the order was given to halt for the night. There was no shelter, they had marched into the middle of a grassy plain; and it was really admirable to see the cheerful manner in which the men, who had been marching from about ten in the morning, set about collecting grass to light fires, and rolling themselves up in their single blankets for a night's rest.

Those who had been able to sleep through the cold, frosty night, were roused at daybreak, on the following morning, by the sounds

of bugles and drums; and all were soon busy in cooking their breakfasts. By eight o'clock the whole force was on the move for Pao-kiong, which was about ten miles off. Passing the village of Sung-ku, they marched over the battle-field between the Imperialists and rebels, and arrived at Pao-kiong about half-past two. At this place they crossed a wide creek, spanned by a remarkably substantial stone bridge, leading into an open space outside the town, where each company, as it came up, formed column and piled arms. The men then fell out, and brought their tents, which they pitched in the intervals between the rows. The boats did not arrive until half-past three; but by five o'clock the tents were pitched, fireplaces built, fires lighted, and rations cooking in the boilers—two of them having been served out to each company of a hundred men, who were supplied with two bags of rice and half a pig. The tents, made after a French pattern, were tolerably large, accommodating twenty-five men each. During the evening several of the spare boats were sent on to Sun-kiong-ku, where the creek to be crossed was unusually wide, and requiring a bridge of

boats for the force to cross it. In this duty they obtained assistance from a camp of Imperialists at this spot, the mandarin in command allowing sixteen war-junks to be moored side by side, and a large junk stem and stern with General Holland's boats, completing the communication. After filing over the bridge next day they came to a place called En-din, where the Imperial soldiers had constructed four large stockades, in which 1100 men were encamped. The chief mandarin was anxious to know whether any European troops were going to join in the attack on Tai-tsang, and when answered in the negative, offered half of his men to strengthen the force, which was accepted. He said he had not been troubled by rebel marauders lately, as they had nearly all retired to their strongholds at Tai-tsang, Quin-san, and Soo-chow.

There were large contingents of these soldiers in this district, who had failed to suppress the rebellion, which, if anything, was spreading and increasing in strength. All along the line of march they passed the strong stockades where the Imperialists had entrenched themselves, to the number of

5000 of the Foo-tai's troops. It was arranged between their commandant and General Holland that when the disciplined corps advanced on Tai-tsang, this force should march in a north-westerly direction, between the latter city and Quin-san. At length, after some delay in proceeding along the tortuous route of roads and creeks, the expedition came in sight of Tai-tsang, where a large contingent of the Imperialists augmented its numbers, carrying flags, blowing trumpets, and striking gongs. However, they showed no lack of activity, as they had their tents pitched, and an entrenched camp formed before it was dark. The guns of the disciplined force were then landed from the boats, and placed in position during the night, when the rebels in the city made a sortie to try and capture them, but were repulsed, after some sharp firing, principally by the rifle companies, who were turned out to drive the enemy back. After this a few shells were fired at intervals over the walls, and silenced the besieged during the night.

The vedettes at their posts outside the camp observed at dawn on the following morning a considerable body of armed men

entering the gates of the city. It was then ascertained that these were a rebel reinforcement from Soo-chow, the headquarters of the Tai-ping forces in the Province of Kiang-soo. As they passed safely into the city, they were greeted with immense cheering by the defenders of the stronghold. This appeared a defiance to the besiegers, and indicated that they had a bold, determined foe to encounter.

Nevertheless General Holland, his officers and men, were not deterred from commencing the attack shortly afterwards, when the artillery opened fire from two 32-pounders, eight 12-pounder howitzers, and four mortars. The bombardment continued between four and five hours, when General Holland ordered the assault. Hitherto all had gone on fairly well, and the "Ever-victorious Army" had the prospect of adding another victory to their laurels; but it ended in their disaster and first defeat.

On consulting the mandarins of the Imperial troops, who were supposed to have a correct knowledge of the environment of Tai-tsang, General Holland was assured that, instead of the usual flooded moat surround-

ing the walls, there was only a dry ditch. This he accepted as a fact, without ascertaining the truth of the statement by reconnoitring the suburb where the batteries had made a breach in the wall, when it would have been discovered that a wide wet ditch encompassed the place.

Captain Graham, an English officer in the corps, with twenty privates and non-commissioned officers of the body-guard, volunteered to plant the ladders against the breach. The gallant fellows picked up the ladders with a cheer which, as it turned out, caused one-half of the confusion that ensued. It was replied to by the rifle battalion, who were in front, and then taken up by the one behind, who did not know what was going on; but seeing the party with ladders run forward, and hearing the cheers, they rushed past their officers, to join, as they thought, in the assault.

When the two battalions neared the wall, they were suddenly checked by a deep moat fifty yards from it, which the men were unable to ford, or without means at hand to cross over. In the absence of bridges they became huddled together on the bank, ex-

posed to the deadly fire of the defenders, who now manned the breach in hundreds, and kept up a fire which told fearfully on the trained troops. A ladder was thrown across the creek, and a few men with several officers got upon it; but it was too weak to bear their weight, and broke, so that the Chinese made no further attempt at crossing on so frail a bridge. The few who had done so attempted to assault the breach, led on by Lieut. Maunder, but he was shot through the heart, and his men fell in the breach. Some reached the top, but only to be shot or knocked down by bricks, which at such close quarters the rebels used with deadly effect. Seeing that no means were at hand to cross the moat, those on the opposite bank became tired of standing idle to be shot down like sheep, and incontinently retreated. Observing this backward move, Colonel Barclay, the second in command, ran to the guns, and fired a few shells at the breach. Finding that they were still loaded and manned by the artillerymen, the retreating troops ran behind them, and halted under their protection.

General Holland now, witnessing the

failure of the assault, through misdirection and want of proper means, ordered the guns and artillerymen to the rear, and determined on a retreat from Tai-tsang, with the whole force. All the small guns and mortars were easily conveyed away, but the two heavy 32-pounders were so deeply sunk in the soft, muddy, and swampy ground that they could not be removed in the emergency, so they were left behind. General Holland did not wait to see their fate, but started off in his boat for Wy-con-sin, on the way to Soong-keong. The other boats followed his, and then came a rush of mandarin soldiers and stragglers. However, the rifle battalion, under Major Cooke, made a last endeavour to save the swamped guns; but it did not succeed. Every effort was made to save them, but the men were exposed to the deadly fire of the rebels from the walls. A ball from a 6-pounder, fired from the breach, killed two men while hauling at the ropes, and still their comrades continued their efforts. But it was useless, the carriages had sunk to their axle-trees, and could not be moved. Seeing that the men were falling thickly to no purpose, Colonel

Barclay now ordered a retreat. It would have even been impossible to spike the guns, save at a terrible loss of life. The rebels seemed to have marked them for their special prey, and concentrated on them such a hail of shot, that it was death to any one who approached; so they were reluctantly abandoned. A mistake had been made in placing the guns so close to the walls, as there was no cover for the artillerymen, who were shot down while loading and firing. It was also doubtful whether their fire did much execution among the rebel garrison, as it was all concentrated on one point of the wall, to make the breach, which, of course they took good care to avoid. When the troops advanced to the assault, however, they stood gallantly in the breach and fired point blank at the "forlorn hope" men. On the whole, the insurgent Tai-pings at Tai-tsang fought admirably, and were well armed with European muskets and excellent ammunition.

The loss to the Soong-keong force was the severest they ever had up to that engagement or since. It was estimated to be some 450 killed, wounded, and missing. Twenty

casualties occurred among the European officers, Captains Maunder, Macarthy, Macleod, and Bosworth killed; and twelve other officers, besides four marines, wounded. Among the former were Captains Graham, Murray, Tapp, Silverton, and Dunn. This unfortunate engagement and defeat of "The Ever-victorious Army" occurred on the 14th of February, 1863, and for the time paralyzed the efforts of both foreign and Chinese authorities, while the Tai-pings were elated with their unexpected success.

My editorial remarks on the event, and comments on the commandant were as follows, and gained the approval of all persons of unbiassed judgment, even those who ranked as friends of Holland:—"It is with much regret that we publish in our columns this issue, the details of a reverse to the Imperial arms at the hands of the Tai-pings, which we have no hesitation in characterizing as the greatest military success achieved by the rebels over the native as well as the foreign forces arrayed against them. The news will be spread far and wide that the thoroughly disciplined and admirably equipped Chinese force, hitherto known as

Ward's 'Ever-victorious Army,' officered by foreigners for the most part who had left her Britannic Majesty's service, and associated in deadly fight on the field of battle with a small detachment of Royal Marines, the whole being under the command of a British officer, have been signally defeated and dispersed before the Tai-ping hordes collected in the stronghold of Tai-tsang.

"When the news of this disaster reached Shanghai on the evening of the 15th instant, we confess that, with those of the foreign and native community we consulted, the failure of the expedition may have been caused by some defective material in the component parts of the force. Such a conclusion, however, has proved unjust in the extreme, now that the facts of the conflict have fully transpired after a week's investigation. From the accounts in the columns of our daily issue, it will be observed that the Chinese troops behaved as bravely as soldiers could do under the circumstances, holding their ground for nearly eight hours exposed to a galling fire from the enemy behind cover, so deadly as to have either killed or wounded twenty out of the forty-six Europeans serving as officers

in the force, and between 400 and 500 of the Chinese.

"What then, brought, about the unsuccessful issue of the attack and the disorderly retreat after abandoning the guns which ensued? We hesitate to reply to this question: nevertheless, we cannot shrink from our duty as commentators on the public events in and around Shanghai, to venture the statement, that as far as facts enable us to arrive at an impartial judgment, the chief cause of failure is to be attributed to the defective arrangements of the officer commanding, in other words, want of generalship.

"That General Holland, as a captain of Marines, is as excellent and brave an officer as there is in that distinguished corps we do not doubt, but the disastrous results of the defeat at Tai-tsang show that the capacity to command a company efficiently, or gallantly lead it against an enemy, is far from securing in the hour of need or developing naturally that peculiar and rare genius which is indispensible to a successful general. From all that we have heard of the Tai-tsang expedition, its failure is due chiefly to the oversight of not providing the storming party with the

necessary means of crossing ditches both wet and dry, which invariably form the outer defences of Chinese cities beyond the walls. Moreover a severe loss in killed and wounded has been caused by the unskilful manner of posting the heavy siege-guns in the open, without any cover for the artillerymen, who were shot in numbers while serving them.

"It is unnecessary that we should enlarge upon the events which ensued, as they are fully detailed in the account alluded to, the general accuracy of which we can vouch for. We have been careful to collate as much information as it was possible to procure during the week that has transpired since the defeat, and one impression appears to pervade the minds of all, that Captain Holland's career as a Chinese general is terminated; that the confidence in him not only by the native troops but by the foreign officers, is gone; and that under his command the Disciplined Chinese Force will never take the field. To General Staveley, who is responsible for the appointment, the Chinese authorities now look for a change, and we submit that they are entitled to aid in securing the capture of Tai-tsang, either

by an allied force, or, what would be preferable, the disciplined troops to be led on by a British officer endowed with the *capacity of a General.*"

CHAPTER VII.

FORCE DEFEATED AT SHAO-SHING—FORCE AT SOONG-KEONG MUTINOUS—GORDON TAKES COMMAND—HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN—FIRST EXPLOIT AT FOO-SHAN—RECAPTURE OF TAI-TSANG.

DISASTER and defeat seemed to befall the Imperial disciplined forces at this time, not only in the engagement on the eastern district of the Yang-tsze Delta, but in the west near the shores of Hang-chow Bay, where the detachment led by French officers suffered a defeat similar to that of Tai-tsang. The prestige of the corps against the undisciplined hordes of rebels seemed fading away; and where formerly victory followed their footsteps, defeat appeared to be their lot. This happened to the Ningpo battalions not more than a fortnight after the defeat of the Soong-keong regiments, while attacking the

city of Shao-shing, or Chao-hing Foo, of the second grade in Chinese topography, and having jurisdiction over eight hien or cities of the third rank.

This city is situated on the Ningpo peninsula, about forty-five miles to the westward, and twelve miles south of the bay. It stands in one of the finest and most fertile plains in China, intersected in all directions by canals and irrigation channels like the plain of Lombardy; and the city itself has a remarkable resemblance in its site to that of Venice, but it has the advantage of it, from the canals being filled with clear and running water. There is boat communication with all places in the neighbourhood outside the walls, and there is no street without a canal; so that Shao-shing abounds in bridges, which are built high, and almost all of one arch. On both sides of the canals there are handsome streets, paved with flags of white freestone, most of them six feet in length, and two feet wide, and many of the houses are built of the same material. This is quarried from a rocky mountain, six miles from the city, which has furnished sufficient stone to build a wall of masonry twelve miles in cir-

cumference. That is encompassed by a double moat, one part inside, and the other outside the city. There are a number of handsome triumphal arches, prominently placed, giving quite a European aspect to the public edifices. Altogether, from the substantial character of its architecture, Shao-shing presented a formidable stronghold to attack, even with heavy siege-guns.

A special correspondent of the *North China Herald* accompanied the expedition, describing the country through which it marched between Ningpo and Shao-shing as being very picturesque, and well cultivated, with numerous farms and villages. "The hills which rise on either side are quite a relief to the eye, after the dead flats which render the country around Shanghai so monotonous, and the evidence of population in the villages presented a pleasing contrast to the desolation prevailing in the much-fought-over ground within the thirty-mile radius round that city." A similar restricted circuit was defined beyond Ningpo, where, according to notification, British forces were not to fight the insurgents. This stipulated boundary-line was infringed by Captain Dew and his

party from the *Encounter*, who had joined the expedition with a 68-pounder gun; which was unfavourably commented on afterwards.

The whole force of French disciplined Chinese was under the command of Tardif de Moidrey, bearing the rank of general, and numbered about 2000 rank and file, besides a "motley company of foreigners," composed of almost every variety of the human race from the Frenchman to the negro. When about half-way on the route to their destination the native troops halted for the night in a town recently evacuated by the rebels, who had left the greater portion of their plunder behind. This was a great mistake on the part of General Tardif, and much against the wish of Captain Dew, who shrewdly calculated the effect it would have on the covetous proclivities of the men. The consequence was that on the following day they were all dispersed through the city, picking up the abandoned plunder. When ordered to resume the march, it was only after much delay and trouble that they could be got to move forward; and when they did so, as many as 500 boats laden with *loot* followed, each soldier having a *sam-pan*, or small skiff of his own,

to convey plunder. Many of the foreign officers were almost as bad as the men in seizing articles of value, or money when it was found. Moreover, many of them neglected their duties by drinking and smoking, and hardly taking any care to maintain discipline among their men.

On the morning of the 18th of February, 1863, the expedition arrived before the formidable stone walls of Shao-shing, and during that night got the great gun into position, without any molestation from the rebel defenders. Next day the bombardment was begun by it, and followed by several French howitzers and mortars. The smaller pieces made but slight effect on the solid masonry, but the 68-pounder soon made a wide breach. So much of the *débris* was knocked down that it could be easily ascended, and the necessity for scaling-ladders was avoided. During this time the return fire from the walls by the enemy was heavy and well directed, so that the wounded were being constantly carried to the rear, where a tolerably good hospital had been improvised, under the superintendence of the Bishop of Ningpo.

At noon, the drum from the European company beat the advance, the trumpets took up the order, and all was soon ready to make the assault. Just at this time, General Tardif de Moudry was gallantly leading his men up to the breach, when a fatal rifle-shot laid him low at the "forlorn hope." He was imme diately carried to the rear, and taken into the temporary hospital, where he was laid on a bed, and treated with every care and skill by the doctors and nurses in attendance. On examining the wound in his head, the rifle bullet was found to have smashed the posterior part of the skull, and the brain was protruding. From this circumstance it was the opinion of the doctors that one of his own men had accidentally killed him during the scramble to the assault. Paralysis immediately supervened; but he survived ten hours, though the greater part of the time he was in a state of delirium.

Another serious casualty occurred to the naval contingent from the *Encounter*, under Captain Dew, when Lieutenant Tinling, the fourth officer on board, was shot in the head, from which a bullet was extracted, but he did not survive long after the operation.

These deaths among the officers dispirited the besiegers during the assault which followed; while the insurgents maintained a deadly fire from the walls. Then there was some blundering with the boats at the moat for the storming party, so that only a few men got across, among the foreigners, and none of the disciplined Chinese would follow them. Colonel Corpier got about half way up the breach when he was driven back by a stone or brick heaved at him. Upwards of a hundred others were repulsed and wounded by the defenders of Shao-shing; among whom were more than half the European company, and half the officers of the drilled troops, including two belonging to Ward's corps, who had joined the expedition. Capt. Dew, who now assumed the command, seeing the losses sustained and the courage of the men weakened, withdrew from the walls, and commenced to throw up some fortified posts beyond them.

Although the number of killed and wounded was not so great as at the Tai-tsang engagement, yet the unfortunate deaths of General Tardif and Lieutenant Tinling rendered the defeat equally disastrous. The question arose

among the military authorities at Shanghai, as it did in discussing Holland's defeat, from what cause the attack failed. The general consensus of opinion led to the conclusion that it was through absence of proper generalship on the part of the French commandant. In the first place he committed a serious error in taking his troops to plunder a small town, evacuated by the rebels, while on the march to Shao-shing. Without reflecting unnecessarily upon the character of a brave man who had fallen in the battle-field, the veriest tyro in warfare might have known that such an act would demoralize the force, and destroy that discipline on which the success of the expedition depended.

Meantime the spirit of dissension was spreading among the men of the disciplined force who had returned to headquarters at Soong-keong after their defeat at Tai-tsang. Not only did they become unsettled, and some of them disobedient to their officers, but a party of them plundered a shop in the city. These men were seized and handed over to the Chinese mandarin, who punished them so severely that the spirit of discontent spread through the force, causing alarm to

all friends of law and order, should they get the upper hand of their officers. A Chinese lieutenant was detected tampering with two companies of men in the endeavour to induce them to join the rebels. An uneasy feeling had been promoted among the force by the underhand means by which the mandarin who superintended their payment had been allowed to reduce their number. Altogether their state of discipline was very unsatisfactory towards the end of March, 1863, and it became absolutely necessary to appoint a competent commander.

As already stated, when the selection of Captain Holland for the post was determined on by the British and Chinese authorities, General Staveley was in favour of Major Gordon, R.E., as the most competent soldier; but what prevented a preference in his favour was the fact of his having the unfinished survey of Shanghai and its environs in hand. Although this was still progressing rapidly, yet General Staveley, knowing the capabilities of this talented officer for such a command, lost no time in advising him of his preference, and officially sent the decision to the British Ambassador at Peking, who placed it in the

hands of Prince Kung, the President of the *Tsung-le-Yameen*, or Board of Foreign Affairs, which resulted in the following notification :—

"The Prince Kung and Sir Frederick Bruce having approved of the appointment of Major Gordon, Royal Engineers, to the command of the Ward Force, Major Gordon will take over charge from Captain Holland from this date. By order, F. JEBB, D.A., A.-General. Headquarters, Shanghai, March 24th, 1863."

Major Gordon being a soldier, and, as he afterwards proved himself to be, a general, always ready for action, lost not an hour in taking his departure for Soong-keong after the notification was published. The city and the surrounding district was better known to him in military topography than any other British officer, except the lieutenants in his staff. Knowing the motley mixture of foreign officers of the Disciplined Corps, he induced Lieutenant Wood, of the Royal Artillery, to accept service under the Chinese Government, and accompany him to headquarters, where other British officers sent applications to join it when they knew that Major Gordon had assumed the command, as he was an officer

generally appreciated for his courage and skill in the army. In being transferred from the British service to the Chinese, a special order had been promulgated that they were not required to resign, but at the termination of engagement were qualified to enter again in the same rank they held when they left; they were thus only *lent* as it were to the Imperial forces for temporary service. However, while retaining their rank all pay ceased, which would not only be provided by their new pay-masters, but in most cases doubled, and in some trebled. It may be inferred from this that the "Ever-victorious Army" under the new auspices was more attractive than before to British officers.

In the foregoing account of its origin and progress previous to Gordon's appointment to the command, it has lengthened more than I at first calculated; especially as introductory to his brief journal of engagements afterwards, or to the dismissal of the disciplined force of Chinese. But under the circumstances it was only doing justice to the British and French forces who engaged in the Tai-ping drama before he appeared on the scene as the victorious hero in action,

though he was behind the proscenium, planning their topographical movements. However, the supposition has been generally entertained in Great Britain that he was the originator of the force by whose discipline and valour the rebellion was suppressed. It has been shown that such was not the fact, but Mr. Ward, the gallant and brave American, who was killed in the battle-field while commanding them. Then their acquirement of European military drill was due to the foreign officers qualified to undertake that onerous duty both in the barracks and battle-field, who had joined the corps from the English, Indian, and French army and naval contingents in China. Had they not cleared the way, by driving the ravaging rebels beyond the stipulated circuit of thirty miles around Shanghai, that central emporium of commerce might have fallen into their power.

The details herein given of the principal engagements demonstrate how formidable the enemy was the allied forces had to contend against, besides the courage and skill required, even with arms of precision, to capture their strongholds, which the Chinese Imperial army were unable to recover. Then

when the foreign forces had retired within their lines, and the presumed invincible native troops undertook the task of continuing the war beyond the boundary under a British officer were defeated in the first engagement, the prospect of their suppressing the rebellion single-handed, or in conjunction with the pusillanimous regular soldiers, would have been as far off as ever, and the terrible Taiping rule continue to scourge the peaceable inhabitants of the distracted country.

In my numerous interviews and correspondence with Gordon it was chiefly from feelings of pity for the people, as expressed by him, that he was induced to accept the offer of his friend, General Staveley, as Commandant of the Disciplined Chinese Force. When the appointment was made, his fellow-officers unanimously pronounced him to be "the right man in the right place. Those with whom I conversed on the subject assured me there was no equal among them for his knowledge of strategy and capabilities of command, whether his men were English, Indian, or Chinese. From what I had observed in his correspondence, I inferred that he was of a pious disposition, from seeing the initials

(D.V.) for *Deo volente*, in brackets, when intending to do anything particular. So I hinted that he might not be so zealous in the cause of the "heathen Chinee" as of a Christian people. On the contrary, I ascertained that though the mass of the Chinese profess Buddhism, his sympathies were with them, and not with the upper classes, or Mandarins, who hold the tenets of Confucianism. Though many at the time considered him as anti-Christian in fighting against the Tai-pings professing our religion, yet he saw through this flimsy, blasphemous veil, and encountered them as the champion of humanity.

While naturally of a reflective character, with a mild disposition in times of peace, he was an officer of action, and a warrior when preparations for the battle-field were before him; and he never neglected making memoranda of contemplated manœuvres with his men, or recording the dates and details in a brief manner, as will be seen in the text of his diary, written in autograph, and presented to me for correct information. The first paragraph is in red ink, notifying that it is a *Private paper, not to leave Mr. Mossman's*

hands." This instruction I have zealously attended to, and have had the journal, comprising twenty pages of foolscap paper, in my sole possession ever since. Of course, I have used the information it contains from time to time when writing on the progress and suppression of the Tai-ping Rebellion, for which purpose it was given to me by Gordon. When we met in England after leaving China, he asked me if I would write a history of its suppression by the Disciplined Chinese Force. I said that such an undertaking would be best published with his sanction. This he objected to, and another party undertook the task, which appeared in magazine and book form under the title of "The Ever-victorious Army." I regretted afterwards that I did not comply with his request, but he never gave me a hint that he objected to his name appearing as the author of his exploits in China. Indeed, he shunned publicity in public prints, although he was pleased when I defended him from aspersions on his motives by scurrilous writers.

With regard to the style of his journal, it is unusually brief and modest in expression, considering the important events to which

it relates. Hence the necessity of amplifying the paragraphs, which are here printed in italics, and so far are an accurate transcript from the original, except where names given only in initials are explained in full within brackets. Indeed, some of the words have been difficult to decipher, and a few of the dates, not consecutive, required altering.

The first entry is as follows :—"18 *March*, 63, *Shaou-shing falls. Dew's career against Tai-pings closes.*" This refers to Captain Roderick Dew, R.N., of the *Encounter*, who bombarded the walls of that city with a 64-pounder, and led on his men to the assault in company with a contingent of the Franco-Chinese force from Ningpo, when they were repulsed by the rebels on the 19th of February, with considerable loss in killed and wounded, as already related. Subsequently a second attack was made on the stronghold, with increased forces, on the 18th of March, when the enemy was driven from the city, the place captured, and occupied by the disciplined troops and imperial soldiers. Immediately afterwards Captain Dew left Ningpo, and received before his departure

letters from the foreign community, thanking him for the energetic manner in which he had caused the neighbourhood to be cleared of rebels, pirates, and other dangerous characters.

Then commences Gordon's personal narrative of the Tai-ping campaign; the final suppression of the rebels, and disbandment of the Disciplined Chinese Force. "25 *March*, '63, *G.* (Gordon) *takes command. Told Footai eighteen months would see end of rebellion.*" That event happened on the 28th of August, 1864, being a month less than Gordon's prediction to the chief mandarin at Soong-keong, who handed him the Imperial commission of general in the Chinese service. A close inspection followed, of 3000 infantry and artillery, with their guns, arms, and ammunition, which occupied a week. A few of the officers and men were weeded out of the corps, but on the whole the army was found to be in a satisfactory condition, notwithstanding the disastrous defeat under Holland at Tai-tsang. Knowing the defection and mutiny of the men on several occasions, arising from arrears of pay, he specially examined the bankers of the force,

and inspected their books, and ordered the men full pay, before starting on his first expedition.

"*Chan-zu was closely beleaguered by Chung Wang* (rebel chief). *Fushan* (or Foo-shan) *was partially surrounded by the Imperial forces; with a portion of the Ever V. Army under Tapp* (Major), *who had been repulsed on the 17th March. G.* (Gordon) *starts with 500 extra men.* Arrives *at Fushan on the 2nd April. Captures place on the 4th April, with loss of one officer, and three men killed, and five wounded. Rebels fell back from around Chan-zu in the night of the 4th, and are not to be seen on the 5th. The Ever V.* (Ever-victorious Army) *return to Soon-kiong on the 7th of April.*"

Foo-shan, the scene of Gordon's first exploit, is a walled city of the third order, situated on the south branch of the binary estuary of the Yang-tsze Kiang, about sixty miles by the Wong-poo River from Shanghai. Major Tapp, in command of the force, investing the walls, was despatched from Soong-keong, with such a small supply of ammunition, that it became exhausted in a day's ineffectual attack on a strong stockade; and

he had been lying inactive, waiting for a fresh supply for his guns. As the water-way from headquarters admitted of conveying the men and munitions by Shanghai route, he used the two armed steamers in bringing down 500 troops, and 200 artillerymen. On arrival at Foo-shan it was found that the rebels were in greater force than was anticipated, not only around the city, but in the neighbouring country, where they were plundering and murdering the industrious inhabitants. Accordingly one of the steamers returned to Soong-keong, and brought down 600 men as a further reinforcement. General Gordon had then under his command about 1700 men and officers of all arms.

The special correspondent of the *North China Herald*, accompanying the expedition, reported that the troops, guns, ammunition, and abundant supplies of food, were all safely landed on the 3rd of April, just above the creek leading to Foo-shan, Chiang-zu, and thence to the provincial capital of Soo-chow-foo. Major Tapp was found on the following day to be posted with his men in a good strategical position; and the forces, having joined, amounted to 1150 infantry, 400 artil-

lery, with six 12-pounder howitzers, one 32-pounder gun, and a rocket tube. On the west bank of the creek the Imperialists were encamped, some 8000 in number, where stockades had been built to within a short distance of the town. From this point Foo-shan appeared to be nothing more than an old, ruined, uninhabited city.

General Gordon set out with a reconnoitring party as soon as he landed on the east bank of the creek, and made for a temple there, accompanied by a covering party on either side. The rebels made no active demonstration of opposition; and having surveyed the position, he returned to the camp. On the 6th of April the whole force made a forward movement, accompanied by the artillery, and operations were commenced by an attack upon the two principal rebel stockades, a little beyond Foo-shan. The 32-pounder was placed in position opposite the wall of the town, so as to enfilade the face of the east stockade; four 12-pounders were placed under cover of the ruins, in such a position as to fire directly in front of the same work, while one was pointed towards the west stockade.

The storming party, placed in readiness

under the ruins, kept up a smart fire of musketry on the face of these barricades. This was boldly replied to by the defenders with shots from brass guns through loop-holes, and large gingalls or firelock pieces. Whenever one of the besiegers' gunshots struck the stockade near a loophole a rebel reply was sent defiantly through the identical aperture. Boats had been brought up the creek to be in readiness to form a bridge, and after three hours' firing it was decided to storm both stockades simultaneously. The attack on the east side was led by Captain Belcher, and carried with a rush; though, unfortunately, he was wounded while in pursuit of the enemy escaping.

After the stockade on the western side had been taken, the rebels appeared in formidable numbers on the east flank, variously computed at upwards of 20,000 men, all more or less armed with weapons. For the time the aspect of affairs looked rather critical, as there were no Imperialist soldiers on the east side of the creek to keep them in check. General Gordon, however, directed the 32-pounder upon them, and marched himself with a body of men to take possession of a bridge

above the two stockades. The country all around was now swarming with rebels; and it was deemed advisable to form an entrenched camp for the night, not only to give the men rest, but allow time to bring up the guns.

Early next morning the expeditionary force continued to advance inland, leaving the ruined town of Foo-shan behind, and marching due south to Chiang-zu, a distance of twelve miles over the level land of the Great Delta. A portion of the artillery came up, and a body of Imperialists joined them in pursuit of the insurgents, but none were encountered, as they dispersed through the country during the night. A short distance from Foo-shan the force came upon six large stockades, erected three on each side of the creek, but these were found evacuated by the enemy. Not far from there a large village was passed, outside of which twenty-four bodies were found mutilated, branded with hot irons and crucified—that being a cruel method of torture and death prevalent in China. These had been Imperialists belonging to a flotilla of war-junks, which had been driven ashore on the river bank and plundered by the insurgents. Further on were four

more stockades, two on each side of the creek, which had evidently been held by a strong force, but they were also evacuated. Beyond that point the route was comparatively clear to Chiang-zu, and thither General Gordon pushed forward with all his forces, without encountering any of the enemy on the way, who might have disputed his progress stubbornly by their numbers.

Chiang-zu is a walled city of the third order, or *Hien*, built in the usual circular form, but exceptionally on hilly ground, surmounted by two large temples or pagodas, which afford a picturesque prospect of the surrounding country. There were four entrance gates, round which the rebels had constructed strong entrenchments, that might have resisted an attack; however, these were evacuated, and the relieving force gladly admitted within the walls by the Imperial functionaries and inhabitants, who had been besieged by some 20,000 rebels outside the walls for three months. On the entry of General Gordon and his Ever-victorious Army, he was received in great state by the functionaries, who were grandly dressed in silks, embroidered robes, and pearl ornaments; the

walls being crowded with their followers, numbering several thousand, who manifested the greatest delight at their deliverance from the cruel bondage of the Tai-pings.

From the narrative of their sufferings it appeared that Chiang-zu had been invested by a formidable force three months previously, but the place was impregnable to their attacks. After the disastrous failure of Holland and the Disciplined Chinese Force at Tai-tsang, one of the men who had been taken prisoner, was sent to parley with the besieged, while they carried the heads of three officers killed during that catastrophe, to induce them to change their allegiance and rank among the rebels. This was indignantly declined. Thereupon they brought the two 32-pounders abandoned by Holland at Tai-tsang, and placed them in position against the wall of Chiang-zu, about 500 yards away. Then came five foreigners to work the guns, but after three days' firing, without doing much damage, they burst—it is supposed on account of over-cramming by Chinese shot.

Though the besieged had fire-arms, they were without ammunition, and could not respond to the rebel fire. However, they

had rice enough to maintain some 8000 men, women, and children for a twelvemonth, but no animal food, and as the city was closely guarded on all sides, none could be got in. But strange to say, the besiegers themselves sold them small quantities of beef at enormous prices. The mandarins looked careworn, having been in a considerable state of suspense while hearing of the failures of successive expeditions sent to relieve them. So soon as General Gordon had satisfied himself that the rebels had really retreated from the neighbourhood of Chiang-zu, he marched back to Soong-keong, leaving a garrison of 300 men to hold the east stockade near Foo-shan, which was remarkably strong. The success of the expedition was complete. The authorities at Shanghai praised him for his generalship, while both officers and men obtained every commendation throughout. As there was no fighting with the rebels at Chiang-zu, it is not enumerated by Gordon in his list of engagements; so that his first exploit is recorded under the head of Foo-shan.

The second entry in his journal is marked on the margin :—*Taitsan. Force marches across country to Taitsan. Carries stockades*

on the 30th April, and the city on the 1st May, after a determined resistance. The breach at the West Gate held by picked men. Three bodies of the sepoys taken prisoner at Naizean on the 18th May, 1862, *with* 12*-pounder howitzer are found, with five other Europeans and one American. Hargreaves, private H.M. 31st Regiment, who had deserted with two comrades, then wrecked* (in a boat), *was taken, severely wounded, and sent to Shanghai. Rebel loss not severe. Ours heavy indeed. Ornamental arch at West Gate pitted with bullets. Holland's breach was at South Gate; very great doubts of success. Struggle lasted on breach for twenty minutes. Futai's brother had been led into an ambuscade (under the pretence of the city being given up), and had lost* 1600 *men and all his camp, himself being wounded. Futai's brother gets his affair mixed up with this* (successful) *attack, and gets white-washed.*

After the disastrous defeat of the Disciplined Chinese Force under Holland, at the siege of Tai-tsang on the 14th February, the insurgents became bolder than before, and skilfully adopted manœuvres against the Imperialists encamped outside the walls, which

were more or less successful. In the instance mentioned in Gordon's journal this was the case. Negotiations had been going on for some time between the rebel leaders in the city and the mandarins in camp, with a view to its surrender, and the transfer of their allegiance to the legitimate authorities under certain conditions. Several of the rebels even had the boldness to venture beyond the gates, and assumed seemingly friendly terms towards the Imperialists. They carried on the negotiations so far as to fix a day for the surrender of Tai-tsang; and at the appointed time a body of 500 men advanced from the Imperial force to take charge. The rebel garrison manned the walls in the neighbourhood of the West Gate they were approaching; but no treachery was suspected, until, when in point-blank range, a volley of musketry was poured into them, and a large rebel force at the same time sallied out from another gate, and cut off the retreat of the main body, which they utterly routed with heavy loss in killed and wounded.

Just before this treacherous business occurred, General Gordon had left Soong-keong with a strong force on a new expedi-

tion; but the Foo-tai begged him to turn his attention to Tai-tsang, and punish the Tai-pings for their treachery. Accordingly, giving up his original intention, he directed the force to that city, and arrived near the walls on the 30th April, with a force of all arms numbering about 3000 men. He first attacked and destroyed several strong stockades, to the south and west of the city. Then he established his force in the western suburb, and took possession of two bridges crossing the main canal leading into Tai-tsang. There at a distance of six hundred yards from the walls he placed his guns in position, flanking them with riflemen, and gradually advanced the guns, covered by portable wooden mantlets, until eventually they got within a hundred yards of the West Gate. At this point the rebels placed their picked sharp-shooters, and kept up concentrating the men from other parts of the extensive town.

The enemy had meanwhile kept up a brisk but not very damaging fire from the walls, which was apparently overpowered early in the afternoon. Gordon then ordered up his gun-boats in the canal to form a bridge for

the men to cross in the assault. Scarcely was this executed, and the storming party in motion to cross where a wide and practicable breach had been made in the wall, when the buttresses and crenellated ports were suddenly manned by a host of rebels, for the most part armed with good rifles. Then a scathing fire was showered down upon the advancing column of stormers as well as the bridge, which was pelted with Chinese fire-balls of a suffocating, destructive character, thereby creating much confusion among the besiegers, and causing the capture of a gun-boat. Still the storming column advanced gallantly, headed by Captain Bannon, and succeeded in ascending towards the breach. Then the picked men of the defenders, led on by several renegade foreigners in their ranks, boldly encountered them with swords and spears, when a sharp and bloody hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which the gallant Captain Bannon was killed. The stormers were then compelled to retire, after half of their men were *hors de combat.*

However, this pause in the assault was but momentary, when it waged fiercer than before, while Gordon's guns played upon the

breach where, as he writes, the "*Struggle lasted for twenty minutes.*" During this time the Ningpo battalion were brought to the front, and the stormers once more swarmed up the breach with better success than before; for although the assaulting column wavered for an instant, the energy of the men in front, and the forward impetus of those in the rear, broke through all obstacles, and the breach was crowned. Then actual resistance by the stubborn defenders ceased; the disciplined troops rushed in victorious parties throughout the streets, and the City of Tai-tsang was captured before sunset. The defeated insurgents fled before them in confusion, trampling each other to death in their eagerness to escape from their pursuing foe. As near as could be estimated there had been nearly 5000 fighting-men, and as many non-combatants quartered in the city, which was in a ruinous condition.

This was one of the most stubborn and deadly engagements during the Tai-ping campaign. The amount of loss the rebels sustained in actual fighting behind the walls was not great, though a large number were killed and wounded in the flight. As Gordon

writes, "*Rebel loss not severe. Ours heavy indeed.*" It was estimated that the killed and wounded of the Soong-keong force amounted to between eight and nine per cent. of the whole 3000. Besides Captain Bannon, who was killed, there were three others wounded, Lieutenants Robertson and Morant severely, and Captain Ludlam slightly. There were in the city and defending the breach seven Europeans and four Indian Sepoys of the 5th Bombay N.I. Of these, three of each were killed during the attack; one of the former was a deserter from the 31st Regiment, mentioned in Gordon's journal, and two of the latter were Frenchmen, decorated with gold medals for their exertions during the defeat of Holland. The three Sepoys killed in the breach were of a party seized by the rebels, while escorting a naval gun up the creek to Nan-zeang, as already related. Fain would the poor fellows have escaped out of their captors' clutches, but they were forced on pain of death to take part in the defence of Tai-tsang.

The importance of this victory was highly appreciated, not only by the Chinese military Mandarins, but also by the British officers in

the garrison at Shanghai, who were by this time under the command of Brigadier-General Brown, sent out to relieve General Staveley. By them the engagement reflected the highest credit on Gordon for the generalship he exhibited on the occasion; also the gallantry of his officers, and the bravery of his men. After the engagement General Gordon issued the following general order, which was published in the official columns of the *North China Herald*:—

"*General Order by Major Gordon, R.E., Commanding the Soon-kiong Force, Taitsan, 3rd May*, 1863.

"The officer commanding thanks the artillery and infantry for their gallant exertions during the late operations. In spite of a most determined and desperate resistance they carried this city, which had a garrison of five times their numbers, and have done what could not have been surpassed by any troops in the world.

"The commanding officer assures the officers and men that he has never seen such a determined fight, lasting as it did hand to hand for twenty minutes.

"He regrets the untimely death of the gallant Captain Bannon, and the wounds received by the other officers, and will hope to see the latter well cared for, and capable of joining their regiments again and taking the field.

"The force has now claims which will be pushed to the uttermost, and it may rest assured that the officer commanding will leave nothing undone to have everything placed upon a satisfactory and proper footing. He cannot too deeply express his appreciation of the gallant conduct of the force.

"By order,

"J. F. STEPHENS,

"*Lieut. 99th Regt., Officiating Adjutant-*

"*General*, Soon-kiong Force."

This successful engagement by the Disciplined Force over the Tai-ping insurgents, on the same battle-field where they had suffered a disastrous defeat, restored the corps to its former *prestige* as "The Ever-victorious Army." It also enabled Gordon to prove his possessing a genius for generalship in military tactics, and commanding a large body of men. Moreover, these were

enhanced under the circumstances in which the engagement occurred; as it was unpremeditated on his part, when he marched with his men from Soong-keong upon a different enterprise. Altogether, the battle of Tai-tsang, as his SECOND EXPLOIT in China, was the forerunner of those which followed, and made his name famous throughout the world as "Chinese Gordon."

CHAPTER VIII.

HYSON ARMED STEAMER DESTROYS FORTS—QUIN-SAN CAPTURED—MADE HEAD-QUARTERS OF FORCE—TROOPS MUTINY, 2000 DESERT—WO-KONG TAKEN—STEAMER SEIZED BY RENEGADES—GORDON'S STRATEGIC PLANS.

AFTER the victory at Tai-tsang, the wounded survivors were sent on to Soong-keong for medical treatment, and the bodies of those killed in combat to be buried in the cemetery, General Gordon marched with the entire force upon Quen-shan, or Quin-san, a city of considerable strength, occupied by a formidable force of rebels, situated on a canal ten miles south-west of Tai-tsang, and about twenty miles to the eastward of Soo-chow-Foo. The following entry in the journal explains his position :—"*Force moves to Quin-san. Vain effort to keep them together to attack Quin-san. Forced, through behaviour to go*

back to refit at Sung-keong. Just before starting for Quin-san, Burgevine (American leader) *comes from Peking with orders from Bruce* (British Ambassador) *to take force. Local authorities will not have it. Lay* (the Inspector-General of Customs) *arrives about same time.*"

From this entry it will be seen that matters were not going so smoothly with his men, many of whom had secured *loot*, which they wanted to dispose of at headquarters. Moreover, supplies of ammunition, for which he had sent orders to Soon-keong, had not come, after making a reconnoisance of Quin-san; so he retired with his troops on that city, and met the ammunition about fifteen miles from it on the way. The other items of the entry relating to Burgevine required Gordon's presence at headquarters, also Shanghai; his position as Commandant of the Force was in no way affected by the endeavours made by his rival to secure his former position, or even the command of a division of the force. There is no necessity to relate details, which led to the disaffection of this adventurer, who in revenge afterwards joined his fortunes with the rebels, and ultimately came to an igno-

minious end. His countrymen, acting as officers in the corps, espoused his cause, and were disinclined to obey Gordon, who was obliged to dismiss the most refractory amongst them.

This is notified in the next paragraph, stating that the "*Force returns to Sunkiong. Reorganized. Force starts for Quinsan, after a great row with the officers and G.* (Gordon), *de mortuis nil nisi, etc. The* Hyson (small armed steamer) *is conveyed up with the force, after great difficulty. Worth at least* 10,000 *men. Moral effect. Find Rebels are encompassing General Ching* (Imperialist) *at East Gate, near high bridge. Attack Rebels on the* 30*th May. Clayton, Captain* 99*th Regiment, wounded, afterwards dies—drive them to the West Gate.*"

On approaching this city, which rises prominently above the level land of the great delta, it was found to be surrounded outside the walls of masonry by stockades of a formidable character, chiefly built of granite quarried from the neighbouring rocks. The attack was opened by the artillery bombarding those on the south side of the walls, while the infantry commenced a fusillade on the

defenders, which soon silenced their fire, and they were speedily driven from their defences at the point of the bayonet. The force then marched round to the western flank of the wall, forming a long straight parapet, where several other granite stockades were erected, and occupied by a strong body of rebels. These were quickly reduced, most of the enemy made prisoners, and many put *hors de combat*, with few casualties to the attacking force.

"*Aspect of Quinsan* (small outline sketch in journal). *Isolated hill, surrounded by wall; very wide ditch. City very strong at East Gate. Every manœuvre seen at top of hill, and telegraphed to chief* (leader of rebels). *Determined to surround the city. We have already Chiang-zu, at north, belonging to us. Rebels have only one road of retreat* (from Quinsan) *towards Soochow, twenty-four miles. Reconnoitre the country on the 30th May. Found that this road can be cut at Chun-ye, eight miles from Quinsan, sixteen miles from Soochow, point of junction and key to the possession of Quinsan held by the rebel stockades. Détour of twenty miles in rebel country necessary to get at this point. Value of steamer.*"

This paragraph is an illustration of Gordon's strategical tactics, prepared before entering upon an engagement, of which there are others of more importance in the latter passages of his diary. In this respect no officer was better qualified to trace the tangled maze of the country, from having surveyed the leading lines in it. Hence with a rapidity of movement hitherto unknown in Chinese warfare, not even to the strategists of the British and French forces, he immediately led the main body of his troops outside the walls of Quin-san, then led the remainder along the only road to Soo-chow, right through the heart of the country infested by the Tai-ping insurgents. This road lay along the east bank of the creek, which expands to the appearance of a broad and deep river. On this channel the armed steamer *Hyson*, under the able command of Captain Davidson, who was thoroughly conversant with the peculiar navigation of these creeks, accompanied the land force, with artillerymen and guns on board. Gordon himself mounted the bridge joining the paddle-boxes, from whence he had a comprehensive view of the surrounding country.

The canal is cut almost in a straight line due west from Quin-san for twenty-four miles, having a wide road on its northern bank for trackers of boats and general traffic for pedestrians and ponies, showing at all points evidences of a busy, populous country. Looking towards the north, at the south-west corner of the city, the rocky ground rises abruptly from the plain, to a plateau on which a handsome temple built of stone is erected, to an elevation at the top of about 200 feet. This is where Gordon saw the semaphore used by the rebels in telegraphing information to their chief in the level part of the town, which occupies nine-tenths of the area within the walls. From the proximity of these elevated rocks, where a quarry is worked, the crenellated parapet and foundations are built of masonry, while a large stone bridge spans the moat outside, giving the defences somewhat the appearance of a mediæval castle in Europe. Inside there are upwards of fifty small bridges crossing a network of canals filled by five water entrances, and next to the same number of gates.

Passing the walls on the southern flank, the *Hyson* steamed slowly through the main

canal, and came to a fort erected to defend the approach to the city from the west. This was bombarded by the 32-pounder, and was quickly demolished, the reverberation of the guns awakening the echoes of the hill in lively style. Further on another was encountered, and then a third, which were captured and the defenders made prisoners. Beyond these a stone bridge was passed, fortunately of sufficient height under the arch to allow the steamer's funnel to pass without being lowered. Turning his telescope in a northerly direction, General Gordon saw in the distance a division of the series of beautiful lakes which characterize the central topography of the Great Delta. These are designated Tung Yang-chen Hoo, or east and west Yang-sing lakes. To the south of the canal there are two others, the Sha-hoo and Kin-ki Hoo, or Golden Pheasant Lake, where these brilliant-plumaged birds are found wild on the margin of the waters. It was from the position of these lakes that Gordon saw the only line of the retreating rebels was by the highway on the bank of the canal, where he soon beheld the fugitives from Quin-san rushing along the road.

Captain Davidson here gave more speed to the steamer, while the disciplined force on board, at the word of command, fired volleys from their rifles, and the artillery shot and shell from their guns. The consternation caused by this unexpected attack completely paralyzed the rebels. To their superstitious imagination the armed steamer appeared like some demon, in their mythology, belching forth fire and vapour, and destroying every human being on land or water, who could not get beyond the reach of its death-dealing shot. What made their confusion more confounded was the collision of the fugitives from Quin-San with a large body of insurgents from Soo-chow, intended to reinforce the rebel garrison at the former place. The consequences were that they formed a promiscuous multitude incapable of using their arms, and hence they were mowed down by the continuous fire from the boat, strewing the road with their dead and dying, or drowned in the ditch.

The slaughter of the Tai-ping rebels on this occasion was something appalling. Gordon and his officers approximately calculated that there could not have been less

than 15,000 men and youths congregated on the road, three-fourths of whom were killed, wounded, or drowned, while none of the force were injured. The marvel of this victorious engagement was the fact of its accomplishment by means of a tiny steamer, no larger than a small boat on the River Thames. Hence Gordon saw the value of an armed steamer in the guerilla warfare, estimating its power as an engine of destruction, equal to that of 10,000 men.

Not satisfied with this victory, he continued his progress into the rebel-occupied region to reconnoitre the country eastward of the famous city of Soo-chow, at that time the chief stronghold of the insurgents in the province of Kiang-soo. The steamer was steered straight up to the city walls, through suburban villages, which allowed the fiery monster to pass without attack or obstruction, within view of the east gate, where the bastions and parapet extend on either side, north and south, for a stretch of three miles, having its counterpart on the western flank, the distance across being two miles, the whole forming an oblong square, ten miles in circuit—being the most beautiful and complete city in China.

Gordon's journal relates this unusually gallant exploit in the following modest entry: —"*Start with* 300 *men* (*Rifles*), *thirty boats* (Chinese), *and some field artillery on morning of* 31*st May. Surprise rebels at Chunye. Take stockades with no loss. G.* (Gordon) *leaves the* 300 *men at Chunye—the mass of the force are at the East Gate, Quinsan—and with Davidson of 'Hyson' proceeds towards Soo-chow. Met by reinforcement. Open fire upon them. They retreat. The steamer at slow speed follows them up. Mass of rebels in only one road. Confusion; the conjunction of other bodies of rebels with these. Dogged resistance, although useless. Steamer rushes on, and comes on high bridge at Ta-edin. Steamer can go through with funnel standing. Rebels evacuate very strong stone fort on approach of steamer after a few shots. Steamer pursues. Takes Seavu-edin and Wai-quai-dong, and steams up close to Soo-chow. Then returns to Chunye.*

"1*st of June,* 3 *a.m.—Find the troops there in great alarm, as they are being attacked by the garrison,* 7000, *of Quinsan, trying to escape. Great assistance of steamer and repulse of attack. Garrison surrenders. Loss of rebels,* 4000 *to* 5000 *killed, drowned, and*

murdered by villagers, 2000 prisoners taken, and 1500 boats captured. Our loss, two killed. Value of steamer. Davidson (master) first-rate officer. Knowledge of country very useful. Quinsan captured, capable steamer communication in all directions, most valuable key to whole country."

The capture of Quin-san proved to be a more sanguinary engagement than the previous rout of the rebels at Chun-ye on the canal spanned by the high bridge. This stronghold, both from its natural and artificial defences, was occupied and had been held by the Tai-pings for three years, composed of picked men from Soo-chow, under the leadership of an arch-rebel known by the title of Mo-wang. He is considered to have escaped before the fight began. Although the city had been so long in the hands of the rebels, there was little plunder in it, excepting two serviceable 18-pounder guns which had been worked by foreigners. It was purely a garrison town, having manufactories for ordnance, shot, and shell, which were creditable in their arrangements, and had no doubt been planned by foreign renegades. From these factories and others for manufacturing

gunpowder, nitre and other combustibles, it was evident that the rebels intended this extra stronghold to be their chief magazine for storing arms and ammunition. Moreover, it was conveniently situated by canal communication with the estuary of the Yang-tsze River, where foreign vessels could supply them with arms and ammunition, for which the rebels were prepared to pay the extravagant prices asked by the rascals who smuggled these articles, contraband of war.

Upon making a survey of this superior city and its surroundings suitable for military purposes, he so far agreed with the enemy that he would permanently occupy it with his whole force, as noted in the following extract from his journal after the capture of Quin-san. "*G.* (Gordon) *determines to move headquarters there, as the men would be more under control than they were at Sung-keong. Men mutiny. One is shot at tombstone outside West Gate. Mark of bullets still there. Men then desert,* 1700 *only out of* 3900 *remain. Very disorderly lot. Ward* (Gordon's predecessor in command) *spoilt them. G.* (Gordon) *recruits rebel prisoners, who are much better men.*"

This was a daring determination of the fearless general, in at once shifting the head-quarters of "The Ever-victorious Army" from Soŏng-keong, where the troops had been garrisoned for more than two years, and those having families dwelling in the suburbs, which had by this time increased fourfold, with a due augmentation of traders and others subsisting upon the expenditure of the force. He saw, however, that this very prosperous condition of the men became dangerous to their discipline, which had been but loosely exercised by the American Commandant Ward, and continued by his successor Burgevine. The consequence was that the bulk of the men mutinied, many refusing to obey orders. As an example to the others of strict military discipline to be enforced in future by a British officer in command, who justly applauded the corps on their bravery in battle, he picked out a ring-leader among the mutineers and had him shot at the West Gate of Quin-san. The effect of this punishment struck terror into the troops, when nearly half of them deserted, returning to their homes, forty miles distant, after most of them had given up

their arms and accoutrements, so that his army for the field was reduced from 3900 of all arms to 1700.

Under these unexpected circumstances any other general but Gordon would have returned to Soong-keong to recruit his force. But he was a man for the occasion in the most desperate emergencies in warfare; and knowing the true character of the Chinese peasantry, who prefer pay to patriotism, he recruited his ranks from the 2000 prisoners seized at the capture of Quin-san. With his naturally marvellous powers of persuasion and personal control over semi-barbarous races, he induced these men to join the standard of the Ever-victorious Army without any restriction in the garrison or the field, excepting that they were brigaded with the veteran troops who had remained faithful to his command.

Although no decided active operations were begun against any particular point, he employed the freshly-combined force in harassing the rebel position at Soo-chow and the environs, with which the new men were better acquainted than the older troops. From time to time they sallied forth in parties accom-

panied by the *Hyson*, armed steamer. With this valuable boat he was enabled to appear at the most unexpected times in the most unlikely places so speedily that the superstitious Tai-pings at last concluded that Gordon had assistance from invisible demons, and this apparent ubiquity of his movements increased their fear and reverence for him. For instance, one day he steamed in the *Hyson* through numerous creeks and canals in a northerly and westerly direction from Quin-san until he approached within a few miles of Soo-chow, when he returned back to the main creeks, and attacked a stockade with the 32-pounder, creating the utmost consternation among the enemy and havoc in the villages. Those in a short time were completely demolished, killing the defenders and driving out the people taking supplies of food into the city, so that the insurgents became straitened for provisions.

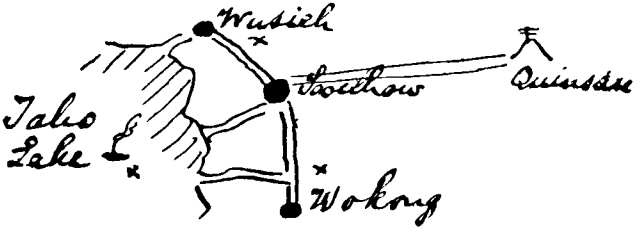
In the meantime the old headquarters at Soong-keong had been left in charge of Captain Stack, transferred from the 67th Regiment, who ably fulfilled the duties of commandant during Gordon's absence. He was now appointed in a similar capacity at

Quin-san, and second in command to Gordon. As the general placed every confidence in the ability and honour of his able lieutenant, it was satisfactory that he had an officer on whom he could completely depend during his absence from headquarters. Besides it was of consideration that he should no longer have his men or movements disturbed by meddling mandarins, and the many disagreeables attending their presence at headquarters, where their appearance was restricted.

Having reorganized the force to his satisfaction, with the exception of finding competent officers, Gordon now took a new departure in his plans, but with the main object in view, so his diary notes:—"*G.* (Gordon) *determines to attack Soo-chow, not directly, but on the same principle as Quinsan, viz. by cutting communications. Original intention to take Wokong, a town fifteen miles west of Soochow on the Grand Canal, and Woosich, a town thirty miles N.W. of Soochow on Grand Canal. Then to hold Ta-ho Lake, west of Soochow, while in possession of Quinsan, to the east of Soochow. Idea was that dissension would break out* (in the rebel ranks) *if this was done. This idea was caused owing*

to Burgevine (American adventurer) *going to the rebels only in a modified form. The same principle being observed as in the original intention. Soochow admirably situated to be cut off. Never thought it necessary to take Soochow by force.*

(Here is a small sketch-plan of the contemplated operation.)



After an unusually hot summer, which occasionally prevented the whole force from leaving headquarters, it cooled towards the end of July, when Gordon took advantage of it to carry out the first part of his plan. The troops left Quin-san on the morning of the 25th, and during the night reached one of the lakes lying to the south of the city, where they were detained during the whole of the following day to enable the commissariat and ammunition boats to come up. On the

morning of the 27th the force advanced, accompanied by the steamers *Hyson* and *Firefly*, through excellent creeks in a westerly direction towards Kia-poo or Ka-poo, about ten miles from Soo-chow on the Grand Canal, where two strong stockades had been erected. The 5th Regiment of Disciplined Chinese, under Captain Howard, was detached to destroy the flank of these, and cut off the retreat of their occupants, a duty which was executed in gallant style. As soon as the rebels saw their line of retreat menaced, they withdrew hastily towards Soo-chow, followed by several armed junks, which inflicted some loss. The stockades were immediately garrisoned by Imperialists, and the steamer *Firefly* being left in support, Gordon advanced again due south, along the Grand Canal, about five miles distant, when a walled city loomed up on the level horizon.

This was Woo Kiang Hien, or Woo-kong, a city of the third grade. The morning of the 28th found the troops distant about an hour's march from the walls, and at daybreak advancing along the canal track to the attack. It appeared to be unusually quiet

within the gates; there were none of the fanfaronade of gongs, tomtoms, and bells, and hardly a man appeared on the buttresses of the crenellated wall. However, as the troops neared them the rebels made a sortie from one of the gates to garrison a stockade on the west side of the city. The duty of outflanking them was again assigned to the 6th Regiment, and was performed in as gallant style as that of the previous day; so much so that General Gordon promoted Captain Howard on the field to Brevet-Major for his services. Seeing themselves threatened in the rear, the rebels attempted to evacuate the stockade and retire into the city, but they were instantly charged impetuously by the 6th, and completely routed, taking possession of the stockade.

In the meantime the Rifles, under Major Loudon, had advanced close to the walls of the city and made good their position; while Colonel Brennan, of the 5th Ningpo battalion, after a sharp fight, made himself master of another stockade opposite the East Gate. The artillery made excellent practice in these two affairs under direction of Major Tapp, who had charge of that branch of the

force. Major Tumblety, of the 1st Regiment, captured fourteen armed junks, and secured about a thousand prisoners, the most of whom gave themselves up voluntarily. Major Kirkham, commandant of Gordon's body-guard, together with Le-ai-dong, the Chinese assistant, were active wherever their presence was required.

Early on the morning of the 29th the attack on the city was commenced by the firing of a few shells at the walls; but not a gun replied on the part of the rebels, and soon after they sent an offer to surrender on condition that their lives were spared. This was willingly conceded by Gordon, for he was a man of merciful mould, and the Taipings marched out of the gates to the number of nearly 3000, including ten chief rebels. Among the latter was the second in command of the force in the city.

During the whole affair Gordon lost only two men killed and twelve men wounded, besides one officer, Captain McMurdo, of the 5th Regiment, who was severely injured in the leg. Wo-kong was not so large a town as was expected, and the buildings inferior to those in the class it belonged to; but its

capture was important, as its possession by the Imperialists protected the country to the rear. This rendered any attempt of the Taipings to advance on Soong-keong impossible, save by passing between it and Quin-san, thereby leaving these two cities in their rear. This exploit, it may be observed, successfully carried out Gordon's first part of his strategic movement to cut off the communications of Soo-chow to the south leading to Wo-kong, to the east towards Quin-san, and the south-east along the lakes to Soong-keong.

The last-named communication was the longest from Soo-chow, and the least guarded along the route. At the same time, the city was not without a garrison, partly of Imperialists, and partly a new levy of the disciplined force raised when the men seceded from the main body after the capture of Quin-san. The former soldiers were under the command of two mandarin generals named Chang and Lee, and the latter under Dr. Macartney, a British army surgeon who had resigned his post in the 99th Regiment, then at Shanghai, and entered the Chinese service. On doing so he had no intention of leaving it after a certain term, but qualified himself in the

native language, so as to be a competent interpreter between the officials of both countries, who might rely upon the accuracy of his translations. He has continued more or less in that capacity ever since, and at present holds the appointment of English Secretary to the Chinese Legation in London. Besides his qualifications as a linguist, his collegiate education for the medical profession in Scotland gave him a practical knowledge of chemistry and the cognate sciences. This he turned to account by instructing experts in the manufacture of gunpowder, percussion caps, and other munitions of war. The success of these efforts induced him to apply for a command in the Disciplined Force, which was successful, in his appointment to the contingent at Soong-keong.

Besides the mixed Chinese forces in garrison at Soong-keong, there was a small armed steamer about the same tonnage as the *Hyson*, named the *Kiao-chiao*. On the 1st of August the latter steamer left Shanghai, having on board Dr. Macartney and the two Chinese generals, and arrived in the creek under the walls of Soong-keong early on the following morning, and moored at a bridge

between the South and West Gates. When Dr. Macartney had landed, and was proceeding to enter the city by the latter gate, one of his European officers came up to him in breathless haste, saying that the steamer had been seized by a band of armed foreign desperadoes, who had got up steam and were steering the boat up the creek leading to the lakes, where she passed on towards Soo-chow without opposition. After it was gone an investigation elicited the fact that the steamer had been boarded by a party of foreigners in rebel pay, led by Burgevine, the rejected ex-commandant of the Disciplined Force.

This affair disconcerted General Gordon in his plans of circumvallation of Soo-chow. After the capture of Wo-kong on the 29th of July, 1863, he remained only eight or nine hours in the city, and set out on his return to Quin-san, leaving it in charge of mandarin troops. On the return route by way of Kah-poo, he found there were not sufficient men from his force to defend the stockades against an attack from superior numbers of rebels. Gordon then determined to remain there himself, with 100 men of the Ningpo battalion, and a good supply of

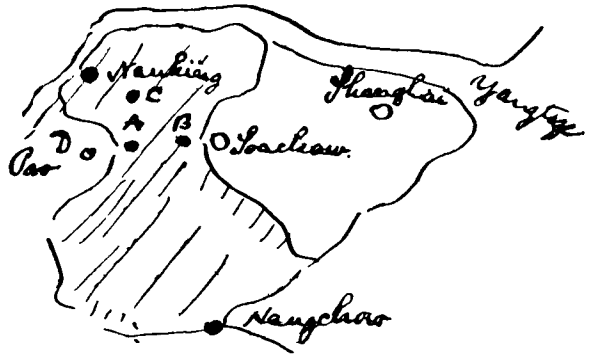
ammunition, until the mandarins sent more of their men. He returned himself next day to Quin-san, and the troops followed three days afterwards.

Gordon went on at once to Shanghai, where he first heard of Burgevine's seizure of the steamer at Soong-keong, and his escape with it to Soo-chow, where he joined the rebels with a number of his confederate comrades. Without resting, he rode back the same night to Quin-san, a distance of about forty miles; and in the morning marched 150 men to the Kah-poo stockades. The first night after his arrival with his opportune reinforcement, he was attacked by a strong band of rebels, who were accompanied by a large number of foreigners; but they were of small account as fighting-men, for they were beaten off in gallant style by Gordon's force.

On the following day a further reinforcement of 200 came from Quin-san; and soon after their arrival a band of rebels from Soo-chow again attacked the Kah-poo stockades, led, it was believed, by Burgevine himself. At any rate they had a 12-pounder howitzer which the latter had brought in the

Kiao-chiao, and which belonged to the Imperial government. Two ponies were harnessed to the gun-carriage, and moved it about excellently, but the fire was ineffective on the stockade outworks. The day following, Gordon marched outside the walls with his whole available force, on seeing a great concourse of rebels coming from the centre stronghold. His troops attacked them with vigour, besides demolishing several bridges over creeks, and stockades in the suburbs; and with few casualties in his own ranks, gained a decided victory over a host of rebels estimated to have been 5000 strong. This was Gordon's second exploit at Kah-poo, and produced a greater effect on the enemy than the first defeat, inasmuch as the renegade Burgevine was discomfited, in his vain attempt to fight the force under the generalship of their new commander.

At this juncture, "*The force returned to Quin-san*," Gordon notifies in his journal, remarking that "*The rebellion is now like an hour-glass*;" that is, wide in the south and north, and narrow between, at Soo-chow, as represented in the following pen-and-ink outline, traced from his Diary.



G. (Gordon) *thought if he took* (*A*) *Li-yang and* (*B*) *Yesing, it would cut it in two. He might then fall on* (*C*) *Kin-tang, and turn Chang-chu-foo. Imperialists of Tseng-Kwo-Fan's* (Chinese general) *army were at* (*D*). "Then in a marginal note written in red ink, he remarks, "*I cannot go into this affair now. It would take too long. It is very well for people to judge at a distance of what to do, but not so easy to carry out their advice. It was necessary to throw off all idea of getting provisions up, and to carry enough with us, as we were going at the heart of the rebel power.*"

Gordon's prescience as a strategist in planning a campaign with his small disciplined force against a multitude of determined but undisciplined foes is shown remarkably in this small sketch-plan, which was carried out to

the letter, as will be seen further on. Indeed few generals could have devised such a scheme of surrrounding and severing the north and south hordes of the Tai-pings, unless they possessed the topographical knowledge he had gained in surveying that labyrinthine lake region. From the purport of the note appended to the sketch, I infer that some officer whom he had consulted on the matter —probably the general in command of the British force—had proposed another scheme, or probably some modification of his own plan. Be that as it may, it will be seen in the sequel to this true narrative of Gordon's exploits in China, that this was the turning-point, the culminating strategy of the campaign, that broke the back of the Tai-ping rebellion.

Following out the plan, he remained at headquarters, and confined his operations to harassing the country round Soo-chow, so as to cut off all supplies. In the southern section of his hour-glass ground-plan he met with valuable assistance from the remainder of the force at Soong-keong, organized by Dr. Macartney. With 700 men, twelve guns, and five mortars, manufactured in the arsenal there, he marched out of the city on the 13th

of August to a small village a few miles from Fung-ching, where he was joined by a force of Imperial soldiers from Kin-san-wai. Next day he moved up to within 300 yards of the walls, and opened fire with his guns and mortars. This city is of large extent, and was then surrounded by walls and stockades built by the rebel engineers. The other defences consisted principally of two ditches surrounding two stone-walled camps, inside which there was much woodwork and barricades. After two hours' steady firing, a breach was made, and the boats moving up at the same time, formed bridges over the two ditches. Just as an entry was effected, the camp, which had been shelled most, blazed up, the woodwork having been set on fire, and the foremost ranks were, in consequence, driven back upon the rear. It was captured in gallant style, the Imperialists showing greater pluck than usual. This victory was more especially important, as it was gained by troops who, since being subjected to British discipline by Dr. Macartney, had never been in action before. It was also the first occasion upon which shot and shell manufactured at the Soong-keong arsenal had been tested against an enemy.

CHAPTER IX.

GORDON'S PLAN OF THE COUNTRY AROUND SHANGHAI—PATA-CHIAOU TAKEN—BURGEVINE WITH REBELS—WU-LUNG-KIAO, WO-KONG, LEE-KOO CAPTURED—HOUR-GLASS STRATEGY COMPLETE—STEAMER SEIZED BY PIRATES—DEFENCES ROUND SOO-CHOW WALLS CAPTURED—STEAMERS FIGHT BOATS ON GREAT LAKE.

HAVING carefully reconnoitred the towns named on the small sketch-plan, the force returned to Quin-san, and on the way General Gordon notes in his journal, "*The bodies of Dollie, Martin, Easton, and Petty, Firefly* (steamer) *officers, were found. They had been murdered by the rebels. The more shame for Lindley and Co. They are buried close to an ornamental arch near the river bank, vide map.*" This refers to the "Military plan of the country around Shanghai, from surveys made in 1862, '63, '64, '65, by Lieutenant-Colonel

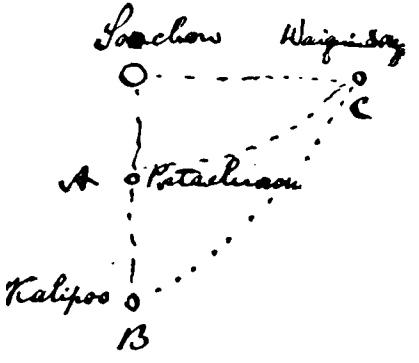
Gordon, C.B., Major Edwards, Lieutenants Sanford, Lyster, and Maude, Royal Engineers, Lieutenants Danyell and Bateman, her Majesty's 31st Regiment, Assistant Engineers." The plan was drafted on a large scale, and covered an area of eighty square feet. A copy, beautifully protracted on thin silk, by Gordon's Chinese draughtsman, who named the towns and localities in native characters, was presented to me by the general with his journal of the Tai-ping campaign, for reference, in reporting the events in the *North China Herald*, and the numerous cities captured or surrendered, with the dates according to his *List of Engagements*. The map was zincographed at the Topographical Department of the War Office, Southampton, in 1865, when Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E., F.R.S., &c., was director. A second plan was published on a reduced scale, measuring forty by forty-five inches, which shows the region around Soo-chow, where Gordon's final exploits extinguished the rebellion, and saved the consolidated Empire of China from being dismembered, had the insurrection succeeded.

His next entries are partly a recapitulation

of what has been narrated, and return to the "25*th July*, 1863.—*Start from Quin-san for Wokong. Leave force at Kali-poo to help Wokong. Advance to Wokong July* 28*th. Capture stockades of North and South Gates. Surrounding walls. Capture fifteen gunboats. City surrenders* 7000 *men on the* 29*th July. No loss on either side to speak of. Return to Quin-san. G.* (Gordon) *goes to Shanghai. Hears of Burgevine joining rebels, and leaves for Quin-san. Burgevine captures Kajow steamer* (Kiao-chiao boat) *goes to Soo-chow.* 4*th August.—Burgevine in rebels' employ, attacks Kalipoo. Davidson* (Captain of Gordon's steamer *Hyson*) *gallantly returns the rebels' fire with shell, and attacks vigorously. G.* (Gordon) *arrives from Kalipoo,* 5*th August, with* 200 *men. Repulse attacks and drive rebels back. Great danger of Kalipoo being taken. Send for more troops. Rebels very plucky. Lose their best gunner by grape from* Hyson. *Kalipoo strengthened. G.* (Gordon) *makes sortie. Supposing Kalipoo to be taken, the fall of Wokong would follow, and advance of rebels to Shanghai. Burgevine dilatory and sleepy. Goes off to Nankin. Great mistake.*"

The appearance of Burgevine at the scene

of operations, although in the rebel ranks, did not disconcert Gordon, as a rival in the field, but it caused dissension during "*September.—The state of the force not satisfactory. Too much talking among officers about Burgevine. Men sickly from inactivity. G.* (Gordon) *determines to take the men out of Quin-san and camp them at Wai-qui-dong, six miles from East Gate of Soo-chow. Better looked after in the field, and nearer to rebels and Kalipoo.* This movement was skilfully carried out, which had the effect of silencing the grumblers, who disliked the rigid discipline of Gordon, and longed for greater ease under the looser command of Burgevine. It also drew the lines of circumvallation gradually closer around Soo-chow, preparatory to the commencement of a siege. With a view to this strategic operation he sketched the following triangular bearings of the towns to be reduced in the eastern environs of Soo-chow :—



G. (Gordon) *decides on attempting to surprise Pata-chiao, 53-arched bridge, 300 yards long, and two miles from Soo-chow. Distance from Pata-chiao to Wai-qui-dong is six miles; distance from Kali-poo to Wai-qui-dong is ten miles. The rebels could get between Kali-poo and Wai-qui-dong. If Pata-chiao was taken no fear for Shanghai. Start 28th September at 2 a.m.; raining heavily; 800 men, and Bonnefois with 300 of the Franco-Chinese force. Bonnefois a very good officer, brave, gallant, and enterprising. Cross the lakes by compass bearings, and reach Pata-chiao at break of day 29th September. Complete surprise; no loss on our side.*"

The report of this gallant exploit in the

North China Herald was as follows :—"By late news from Major Gordon's force, we learn that the lines around Soo-chow are being gradually drawn closer preparatory to the commencement of a siege. With a view to contracting the lines on the east and south flanks of the city to a lesser limit than from Wai-qui-dong to Kah-poo Major Gordon left the former place on the 28th of September with 500 infantry, 200 artillery, and a battery of guns; besides 300 Franco-Chinese, under Captain Bonnefoi, accompanied by the armed steamers *Hyson* and *Firefly*, and sixty or seventy Imperial war-junks. The force arrived at the Pata-chiao stockades on the Grand Canal on the following morning—a miserably wet day.

"The steamers and war-junks at once opened fire from the front, while the flank was turned by the 1st Regiment and the Franco-Chinese. According to their usual custom when they see themselves menaced in the rear, the rebels took to flight, and effectually outdistanced their pursuers until they reached the gates of the city at Pata-chiao. Under its walls they rallied and looked calmly on, until the force marched on

to the gates; when, aided by a reinforcement of 2000 men from the city, led on by foreigners, they attempted an attack on the rear of the allied force. The fire of the *Hyson* and war-junks, however, drove them back with considerable loss, and several of the foreign renegades were seen to fall. In the afternoon a larger body of rebels again sallied from the city, and marched down in line on the flank of Pata-chiao. These bravadoes were driven back in confusion on the right bank of the Grand Canal by the infantry, and forced to take cover from the shells discharged by the artillery in the steamers. Night coming on, they gradually withdrew, leaving Major Gordon and his men in quiet possession of the stockades. The only casualties among the attacking forces were two French privates and six Chinese wounded, but none of Gordon's troops were injured."

This successful engagement was an important step towards hemming in the rebels towards the waist of the hour-glass strategy devised by Gordon, and, from their slight resistance to his "Ever-victorious Army," they appeared to be losing all confidence in their own prowess against their disciplined country-

men. Moreover, the rapidity of Gordon's movements from one place to another, when he always surprised the enemy, while he himself was free from their fire, and commanded his men with nothing but a cane, inspired them with a belief that he was more than human, and they dreaded his approach. Since the capture of Tai-tsang, Gordon's appearance with his force before a rebel fortification became the signal for its evacuation.

However, the foreign renegades in the rebel service had none of the native superstition or dread of Gordon's power, but considered him an unusually brave British officer who succeeded in his plans; and some of them deemed him so hostile to their adopted cause that it was mooted by one fellow to concoct a scheme for his capture. Although that scheme was not entertained by the better-disposed renegades, yet they did not hesitate to urge the rebel leaders to take advantage of his presence at the stockades of Pata-chiao and endeavour to destroy him and his men. Accordingly he notifies in his journal:—

"*Rebels under Burgevine, Chung-wang* (the chief military leader), *and all the Europeans*

attack it (Pata-chaio) *on the* 1*st Oct., and although nearly successful, owing to the idiocy of G.* (Gordon) *sending away all his men but* 300, *are driven back. Negotiations take place with G.* (Gordon) *and Burgevine at a small bridge* 1100 *yards from Pata-chiao, on road from that place to Soochow. Nothing settled fixedly, but Burgevine wants to surrender.—*12*th Oct. Burgevine with Chung-wang start from north of city and try to capture Chanzu. Burgevine shoots Jones* (a renegade). *Meet determined resistance at Ta-jowku, some eighteen miles from Chanzu. Kajow* (Kiachiao steamer) *blows up. Wreck; then still. Burgevine loses forty men by blow-up of steamer and gunboats full of powder, and Chung-Wang sends him back to Soochow. Rebels from Keshing-fu attack Wokong on* 11*th Oct. Gordon goes down on* 12*th; attacks rebels on* 13*th, and, after heavy loss and great difficulty, they are driven away. The action took place on the road south of Wokong.*"

Nothing of import out of the usual engagements took place on this occasion, but the attack on Wokong was subsequently renewed. Meanwhile an event occurred among the foreign renegades who had joined the rebels

that materially caused their defection from the ranks. The item on this head in Gordon's journal is briefly noted :—

"14*th Oct. Jones and forty of his rebel companions, including Porter and the notorious Barclay de Tolly, came out* (of Pata-chiao) *and surrendered to G.* (Gordon). *Burgevine comes out on the* 17*th Oct. Europeans left under Smith and others. Great relief to G.* (Gordon) *and the beleaguered forces.*"

This surrender of the misguided Burgevine and his countrymen who had followed him into the rebel ranks was not only a relief to Gordon and his loyal army, but the American residents at the Treaty Ports were satisfied at an act of submission which removed a scandal from their compatriots in China. The following version of the affair, reported in the *N. C. H.*, explains the matter in a clearer manner than the brief item in the journal:—

"October 25th, 1863. Public attention in Shanghai has been for the last fortnight concentrated on Soo-chow. Vague rumours of disaffection among the foreigners in the city had for some time been in circulation, but it was not until the 8th instant that arrangements were made by Major Gordon for the

reception of those who should choose to come over. Various unavoidable delays took place, and it was not until the 15th that a successful attempt to escape from the clutches of the rebels was made. On that day eight ex-officers and thirty-four men of the old force at Soongkeong were brought off, and on the 17th Burgevine gave himself up to Gordon. The wounded were sent down by way of Nanzeang to Shanghai, when a steamer was got to tow the boats in which they lay disabled. On the arrival at the settlement of the officers, Jones, Morton, Porter, Barclay de Tolly, and Whiting made statements to the American Consul. The great length of these depositions prevents us from reproducing them in this report; but the following is a brief *résumé* of the evidence given by Jones, and contains every item of importance which was elicited in the investigation :—

"'In July last, when in command of Messrs. Fletchers and Company's silk steamer, the *Yuen Fa*, I became aware of Burgevine's intention to join the rebels. On the 2nd of July, I took him and two others as far as San-li-jow, from which place they were to go on to Soo-chow. On the 2nd of August,

I—having left my situation—assisted in the capture of the *Ka-jow* (steamer *Kiao-chiao*) at Soon-keong, and went up in her to Soo-chow. A few days later we started for Nan-king, where we were well received (by the rebel chiefs). Burgevine's design in visiting Nan-king was to have the force he trusted to raise placed upon a proper footing. Two thousand of the ordinary rebel soldiers had been set apart for drill, but few only were provided with proper arms. Some time in September Burgevine and I went to Nan-zeang, where the engines of the *Ka-jow* were taken out. I then brought them down to Shanghai and had them repaired. On the 22nd of September I saw Captain Davidson of the *Hyson*, and came down from the city to have a chat with him. Subsequently I saw many of my old acquaintances among the Soon-keong garrison. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th of October, I saw Major Gordon, and made arrangements for our coming over. On the 10th I received orders to advance towards Chang-zu. We had a brush with the Imperialists, and captured fifteen war-junks. Our steamer, however, blew up, and two Europeans were severely injured. While

this was going on, Burgevine was lying asleep in one of these junks. I heard some remarks made about this, and went to him to remonstrate. He asked who had made remarks about him, and on my declining to tell him, he shot me in the face. I said, "You have shot your best friend." He answered, "Yes, and I wish I had killed you!" On the 15th of October we saw Major Gordon's two steamers coming up the canal, and took advantage of the chance of escape. Our party, with twenty-four men, went down the bank and entered Gordon's lines, where we were well received.'

"Since the above evidence was published, Burgevine has volunteered a statement which does not invalidate the assertions made by Jones, although it by no means agrees with the statements made by Porter and Morton. Burgevine is now in Shanghai. Jones will obtain command of a steamer as soon as practicable. Morton joins the Quin-san force as major of the 2nd battalion, and some of the privates will be formed in a body-guard to Gordon. In consequence of the publication of Burgevine's statement, denying the accuracy of the depositions made by Jones,

and others of his followers before the U.S.A. Consul, Jones had publicly accused him of having purposed to capture Gordon, during one of the conferences which were held regarding the secession of the foreigners from Soo-chow, to which no reply was made by the accused."

This disagreeable and dangerous episode in Gordon's campaign having been satisfactorily disposed of, he was ready now to continue his field-operations, that had been in a measure suspended. Accordingly the next item in his journal is :—" 23*rd Oct. G. attacks by surprise Wulangchiaou, in pursuance of his former plan of blocking up all the exits from Soo-chow, and forcing dissensions* (among the rebel chiefs) *now known to exist* (through information derived from the released foreigners). *Chung Wang* (the military rebel chief) *attacks Wulangchiaou, and nearly captured outposts in village close by on the* 24*th Oct.*" Fortunately, he mustered his force in time to prevent this, and signally defeated the best fighting leader among the whole Tai-ping insurgents, as detailed in the following report :—

" Major Gordon continues busily employed

in cutting off all communication with the city of Soo-chow. The latest step was the seizure of some strong stockades, that had been thrown up by the rebels at Wu-lung-kiao, a village situated at the west of the Grand Canal, a short distance from Pata-chiao. On the evening of the 23rd October a detachment of 800 of Gordon's force, and 300 Franco-Chinese under Capt. Bonnefoi, together with the *Hyson* and *Firefly*, left the camp and creek at Wai-qui-dong for their destined position, to be in readiness to attack on the morrow. The *Firefly*, with the majority of the force, went to Ka-poo, and, diverging to the westward, arrived in the early morning to the north-west of Wu-lung-kiao, while the *Hyson*, advancing directly from Pata-chiao, commenced shelling the stockades from the east; at the same time the artillery in the other steamer bombarded them from the opposite direction. General Ching, with his Imperial troops, in his wonted anxiety to distinguish himself with his own men, had commenced an action before the steamers arrived, notwithstanding the previous arrangement which had been made for a simultaneous attack. He paid the penalty

of his error in the loss of some twenty killed and sixty wounded, without making any impression on the rebels."

However, the bombardment of shells from the steamers quickly changed the aspect of the engagement, and when the disciplined troops advanced to the assault, very little resistance was experienced. The stockades were carried with the loss only of three men wounded, and the rebels retreated with such activity that their casualties were not much greater. The place was immediately garrisoned by a regiment of the disciplined force, as it was not advisable to entrust it to the mandarin soldiers. The event proved that this precaution was wise, for on the 26th, Chung-Wang, with a larger force than before, attacked the place. The Imperialists afterwards in garrison held out gallantly, and after a sharp struggle drove off the enemy. Chung Wang and his son, both of whom distinguished themselves by their bravery on the occasion, had a narrow escape from being captured. They were forced to abandon their ponies and swim a creek, pursued by a shower of bullets.

After the defeat of the redoubtable Chung

Wang and his son with the great horde of rebels under their command, he makes an entry in his journal stating that the "*Rebels of Kashing-fu attack Wokong again, and are driven back by Kirkham* (an English officer) *and Moffat* (a surgeon in the British army) *on the 26th October, with the loss of* 1500 *men and* 1200 *boats. This was owing to the presence of the* Hyson *steamer, who did it all.*" The particulars are thus reported in the *N. C. H.*:—"On the 27th October Gordon received information of the presence of a large body of insurgents in the neighbourhood of Wo-kong. Ching went down with two thousand Imperial troops, and Gordon sent Major Kirkham to his support with six hundred of the Disciplined Force and the steamer *Hyson.*

"This body of Tai-pings, on being reconnoitred, were discovered to be skilfully and strongly entrenched on the western bank of the Grand Canal, close to the outskirts of Wo-kong. After the first discharge of shells from the deck of the *Hyson*, they were quickly forced to fly ignominiously in the direction of Ping Wang, sixteen miles to the south, by the canal banks. As they fled along within

range of the steamer, the artillery and riflemen on board did great execution among the fugitives as they were pursued. In this manner 1400 men were reported to have been killed and wounded, while the stockades were totally demolished, and 1500 boats were sunk or seized, among the latter being twenty-three armed junks. The enemy was pursued nearly as far as Ping-wang, which could easily have been captured had it been possible to place a sufficient garrison of mandarin soldiers in it. As, however, Kirkham could not spare any from Wo-kong, he ordered the troops in chase to be recalled, and returned to Patachiao without a single casualty."

This dashing exploit appertains chiefly to the officers and men under Gordon rather than to himself, which he promptly acknowledged in the following general order, showing the value he placed on the achievement :—

"General Order, 28*th October*, 1863. The commanding officer congratulates Majors Kirkham and Tumbletty, and Captain Manson, commanding the land artillery of the force, and Captain Davidson, of the *Hyson*, on the perfect victory they and their subordinates gained over the rebels on the 27th of

October. This success will have the greatest weight in the present operations, and will very much facilitate them.

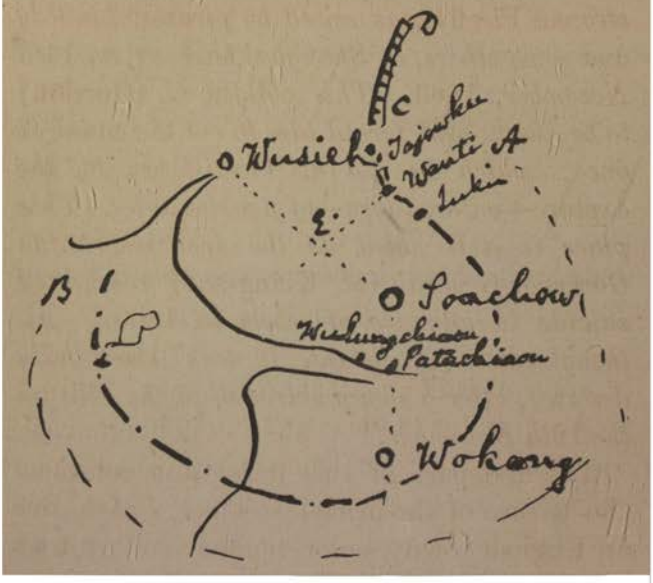
"The commanding officer feels the greater pleasure as this important victory has been obtained without casualties, and renders his sincere thanks to all concerned for the efficient way in which they have conducted themselves.

"C. E. GORDON, *Major Commanding.*"

These events hastened on the *dénouement* of the campaign, although there was no immediate intention of attacking Soo-chow itself, but gradually cutting of its communications, and still further in narrowing the neck of the "hour-glass" plan of tactics. In pursuance of this an item in his journal states that —"*G. leaves garrison at Wulangchiaou, and sweeping round, captures Leeku on north side, losing slightly. The rebels fought well. Captain Perry shot at the south side of the village. Very brave fellow. G. pushes on and takes Wanti after a severe struggle, in which the rebels fought well and suffered much. Major Gibb killed. Very brave man. The capture of Wanti put Gordon's force in communication with*

that of Li Futai's brother, whose men were at Tajow-ku. Thus his right was at Wanti, and his force, that of Ching's and Bonnefois', swept round the north of the city to the east; thence to the south and west by the great lake, leaving the only route open to the rebels—that by the Grand Canal. Capture of Wanti completed junction of two armies" (the Imperialists and "Ever-victorious Army.")

This important and successful strategic movement is delineated in the annexed skilful sketch, outlined by pen and ink in his journal. In making these outlines he finished them with great facility and accuracy. On one occasion, while conversing with him on an operation not distinctly clear to me, he drew with a pencil on a piece of paper the movement, which was explained at once. Lieut. Sanford was also a quick draughtsman, and sketched an outline of the thirty-mile radius while on the survey, which aided me greatly in finding the position of the rebel strongholds in the vicinity of Shanghai.



The movements of the two armies are explained thus :—" *Gordon's Disciplined Chinese and Ching's troops from A to B. Li Futai's brother from C to D.*"

Then he makes an entry regarding a further movement to be carried out on the lines of severing Soochow from outer communication with the rebel hordes on the wide parts of the " Hour-glass " strategic plan. " *G. determined to cut Grand Canal road, and was just starting to do so when* (news came that) *the*

steamer Firefly *was seized by pirates, Lindlay and some others, in Shanghai harbour, on* 14*th November,* 1863. *This obliged G.* (Gordon) *to be quick, and forced him to cut the canal at once; which he did at Fusai-kwan by the capture—without loss—of five stockades.* [*This place is well noted as the spot where the Governor-General* (of Kiang-soo) *committed suicide in advance of rebels in* 1860.] *Although most important, it was shamefully deserted, after a sharp skirmish in the hills on the* 19*th November.*"

The first part of this paragraph refers to the seizure of the armed steamer *Firefly*, by an English rowdy sailor, named Lindlay, and his piratical confederates, intending to join the rebels at Soo-chow for the sake of plunder and pay for their services. This is the same fellow mentioned in the preface as having vilified the noble-hearted Gordon in a pretentious book named "Ti Ping Tien Kwo, By Lin-lee." There is no necessity to go further in denouncing that dirty publication; but some account of the buccaneering of the author in this instance will explain how the vessel was stolen by him and his companions in villany.

The steamer *Firefly*, which had been chartered by the Chinese Government, for service on the Tai-ho, or Great Lake, which bounds by its waters the western suburbs of Soochow, the scene of Gordon's latest strategical movements, was seized by rowdies in rebel pay, on the night of the 14th of November. The circumstances of the case were briefly these:—During the previous night Dr. Macartney, in command of the new contingent of Disciplined Chinese at Soong-keong, arrived at Shanghai on board the *Firefly;* and directed that it should be in readiness to convey him to the Great Lake at midnight next evening. On the afternoon of that day he received a letter from Captain Ludlam, stating that Major-General Brown — who succeeded General Staveley in command of the British force—was to proceed in her to meet Major Gordon. As Macartney was anxious to call at Soong-keong, he started at midnight up the Wong-poo River, in a *chop*, or small junk, intending, as he passed the *Firefly* at anchor in Shanghai harbour, to direct the master on board to wait outside the creek, leading to headquarters, for him.

Next day when General Brown was about

to go on board at Shanghai, the quartermaster of the steamer came to the British artillery barracks in the settlement, and reported that, at 11 p.m. on the previous night, the boat had been boarded by about twenty-five or thirty foreigners, who immediately took possession of her. He escaped the clutches of the pirates by jumping overboard and swimming ashore; but the remainder of the crew were overpowered and put in irons below deck, while Lindley and his sailor rowdies steamed and steered the boat up the Wong-poo and creeks leading to Soo-chow.

Captain Murray, of the Royal Artillery, immediately despatched Lieutenant Wood, R.A., with two mounted troopers, to warn the garrison at Quin-san, and a mounted Lascar to Soong-keong, to warn Macartney, lest he should go down to meet the steamer, and so fall into a trap. A letter was also sent to Macartney by a courier, giving an outline of the circumstances. It was feared that on her passage up the *Firefly* might have passed Macartney in the boat, and have been hailed by him, in which case his seizure was inevitable. These, however, were groundless,

as he arrived safely at Gordon's headquarters, where he awaited the steamer, when the news of her piratical seizure came to hand. Besides her own armament, which was considerable, the *Firefly* had a cargo of cannon, small arms, ammunition, and stores, for the *Tsatlee*, another steamer chartered by the Chinese Government.

Meanwhile Gordon, after cutting the main road on the banks of the Grand Canal at Fusai-kwan, on the "19*th November*, 1863," as noted in his journal, "*G. left for the East Gate of Soochow*," named in Chinese, Low Mun or Lo Moon, "*where his siege artillery was waiting him. All the exterior defences of the city had now been captured, but a small mountain path was open to the rebels for escape, and the prisoners gave daily accounts of the dissensions* (among the conclave of rebel leaders, or as they termed themselves 'WANG,' the Chinese equivalent for King) *in the city. But no time was to be lost, for the* Firefly, *with its unhappy captain, Dollie, and three others, who were taken prisoners, was with the rebels. So G. determined to attack the city at the N.E. angle. It was, however, necessary to take the inner line of exterior defences, which were very formidable.*"

By this time Gordon had left his position at Wan-ti with a large force of infantry and artillery, accompanied by the newly-armed steamer *Tsatlee*, commanded by Jones. He then advanced towards the south-west, and sighted the Grand Canal at Foo-tszoo-quan, six miles distant from the West Gate of Soo-chow. The rebels had thrown two dams across the creek, so as to prevent the steamer's entrance into the canal, on the west bank. The field-trains, one 32-pounder, one 8-inch gun, the steamer's ordnance, and a flotilla of war-junks, opened fire upon two stockades, while the infantry, drawn up on the east bank of the canal, were being passed over in boats. The rebels, after a few rounds, gave way in two of the stockades, which were at once entered by a few men of the 4th Regiment and the Franco-Chinese force. The insurgents still occupied the stockades up the canal towards Woo-sieh, in a north-west direction, and down towards Soo-chow; but a move of the troops on both arms soon dispersed them, while the *Tsatlee* pursued numbers towards the city. They evacuated position after position, until the steamer reached the suburbs outside the West Gate. The

Imperialist casualties were two wounded, and the rebel loss was likewise very trifling. This victory completed the line of posts round Soo-chow, in the occupation of the Imperialists. The positions were then as follows :— On the south-west, Wu-lung-chiao; on the south-east, Pa-ta-chiao; on the north, Lu-kow and Wan-ti; and on the north-west, Foo-tszu-kuan. There still remained a small creek leading into the Tai-ho, but this was guarded by Imperial war-junks, to be assisted by steamers, if necessary.

"*Accordingly G. made a night attack on the 27th November, which was repulsed by the rebels with very heavy loss to Gordon, who then got his siege guns into action and captured the works on the 29th November, after a very severe struggle, thus leaving his way to the city wall open.*"

This brief entry in his journal records the beginning of the end of this great Tai-ping campaign. A force of the Disciplined Chinese, consisting of the 3rd and 4th Regiments, under the command of Major Kirkham, advanced on the evening of the 27th November to capture four stockades and a breastwork in front of General Ching's posi-

tion with his Imperial troops, and close to the north-east gate of the city. The rebels had been in the habit of leaving these stockades at night, trusting to their position under the guns in the embrasures of the wall. On this night, however, the stockades outside, instead of being deserted, had been strengthened by a large reinforcement of men from the quarters in this extensive city. When, therefore, the disciplined troops advanced to the attack, in expectation of making an easy capture of these outworks, the defenders open a most destructive fire, driving back the assailants, killing and wounding upwards of a hundred men and officers.

This reverse, however, was retrieved on the following day by Major Gordon commanding the force in person. He renewed the siege with his whole disposable army of infantry and artillery, excepting the 1st Regiment of Riflemen. The whole of the artillery, with siege-train, guns and mortars, were brought to bear on the stockade immediately commanding the breastwork before the attack was made, and the defences reduced to ruins. About 1800 men were then thrown across an intervening creek, and after

a sharp struggle the breastwork was carried, the rebels retiring, as before, into their stockades, from which they kept up a heavy fire. They were quickly followed by the whole attacking force, and driven out of the first and second stockades, although not before they had made a gallant resistance. The remaining two stockades were evacuated, and the whole open country in front of the East Gate was quickly cleared. Thirteen officers were wounded in this attack, and 130 Chinese killed and wounded. Two 24-pounders and a number of smaller guns were captured from the enemy, who had evidently devoted all their energies to the defence of this position, which was within about 1200 yards of the walls.

In the meantime the steamers *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* had been hotly engaged with some rebel armed junks on the Tai-ho, or Great Lake. They had entered the lake on the 24th, accompanied by ten Imperial war-junks, in search of information regarding the steamer *Firefly* and her crew. Intelligence was received at one of the few islands in this spacious lake that a number of rebel boats were on the shore near See-a-ting, the centre

of the three principal islands; and one of the villagers having volunteered as a guide, the whole flotilla proceed to the attack. On reaching the locality sixty-eight junks of various tonnage were perceived in a bay alongside two stockades. It was impossible to capture the boats without the aid of troops, as the stockades were held in force by the insurgents, and it was dangerous to steam into shallow water. The armed junks were fired on for some time, until it was judged that they must be effectually battered, so the steamers began to retire, when the crews of the junks, who had gone ashore, returned to those least damaged, and reopened fire.

A well-directed shot entered the boiler of the *Tsatlee*, completely disabling her for the moment, and the *Hyson* was compelled to take her in tow. The damage was repaired during the night, and the boat was again in working order next morning by ten o'clock. While the repairs were progressing, a large flotilla of junks hove in sight from the southward, when the *Hyson* immediately got under weigh towards them. They proved to be bringing reinforcements from Ka-shing under the command of Tszu-

Wang, who was captured in the course of the action which ensued. Directly the captain of the steamer discovered the rebel ensign he opened fire upon the fleet, which was replied to with spirit, but without much effect. Some twenty junks were sunk and three captured, on board one of which was the family and personal property of the rebel commander. The remainder of the junks were dispersed, and the crews fled hastily with them in the direction from whence they had come.

CHAPTER X.

TOPOGRAPHY OF SOO-CHOW—MO WANG SLAIN—FOUR WANGS SURRENDER—GORDON SEES THE PLUNDERED CITY—CHIEFS BEHEADED BY FOO-TAI—HIS REPORT TO PEKING—REWARDS FROM EMPEROR—GORDON REFUSES MONEY — CAMPAIGN RESUMED — LI-YANG TAKEN—HOUR-GLASS BROKEN—HORRORS OF REBEL WAR—SEVERAL CITIES TAKEN EVACUATED—REST SURRENDERED—FINALE OF GORDON'S JOURNAL.

Soo-CHOW-FOO, according to Chinese topography, ranks among the provincial cities as one of the first grade, but it is not the capital proper of Kiang-soo. That distinction appertains to the greater city of Nan-king, a name signifying the "Southern Court," as Pe-king means the "Northern Court," or Imperial residence of the emperors. Though Soo-chow is only the

second city in Kiang-soo, it is the capital of I-tong, or the eastern part of the province.

Before it fell into the desolating hands of the Tai-ping rebels, this was one of the most beautiful and pleasant cities in China; Europeans who had visited it in peaceful times compared it to Venice, with this difference—that the "Queen of the Adriatic" rises out of the salt sea, while Soo-chow is environed and intersected with fresh water. Any one may move through its streets and roads by water or land; the branches of the River Yang-tsze and canals intersecting the great Delta are almost all capable of being navigated by boats of large burden, and enter the water-gates of the city. In the surrounding district there is no country more charming in respect of situation and climate; and the suburbs, especially on the east side of the city walls, densely dotted with villages and farmsteads, there being scarcely a foot of ground that is not cultivated in the highest degree, producing fruit and grain of all kinds, especially rice, which may be termed the Chinese "staff of life." Like the capital of the adjacent province of Che-kiang, and some others in the Empire, Soo-chow was reckoned

as comprising three different divisions of dwellings and population, namely, the central city within the walls, forming an oblong square twelve miles in circuit; another in the suburbs, which extend many miles on the sides of canals and lakes; and a third in the junks afloat, ranged in rows, moored stem and stern to the banks, forming streets on the water, densely populated, of what may be called floating dwellings.

This great city has six gates leading to the landward approaches, and the same number towards the water, both crowded in its palmy days by multitudes of people continually moving to and fro, and thronging the market-places and bazaars, buying and selling not only produce, but manufactures of all descriptions. The silk and satin embroideries and brocades made here formerly comprised a great part of the external trade, and were in demand throughout the Empire, because of the fabrics being good and cheap. But it was more a city of pleasure than an emporium of commerce. Like the neighbouring city of Hang-chow, the provincial capital of Che-kiang, before these dire days of distress it wanted nothing that could contribute to

make life luxurious. Hence there is a proverb in ancient Chinese books that adorns a couplet, thus :—

Shang Yew tyen tang,
Hya Yew Soo Hang,

which, freely translated, signifies, "Above is Paradise, below is Soo-chow and Hang-chow." In effect, it may be said that these two cities formerly were the terrestrial paradise of China, the former in a great measure resembling the city of Paris in its gayest garb. It was the seat of the viceroy of the eastern section of Kiang-soo, whose particular jurisdiction ruled over eight lesser cities, one of the second order and seven of the third rank, all of them surrounded by crenellated walls, from two to five miles each in compass.

Under the rule, or rather the misrule, of the Tai-ping insurgents, these fiends, after four years' occupation, had transformed the previous paradise into a pandemonium. To describe the destruction of the dwellings and murderous cruelties to which the peaceable inhabitants who dwelt in them had submitted, would occupy more space than this brief narrative can admit. Suffice it to say that when its outer defences were captured by

Gordon and his "Ever-victorious Army," together with the Franco-Chinese contingent, under Captain Bonnefois, and the Imperialists commanded by General Ching, it was almost a ruined city without peaceful traffic, and possessed by a demoniac force of blasphemous rebels, robbing and murdering under the guise of a quasi-Christian creed. Gordon, after the investment of the walls and gates, so that neither ingress nor egress could be made without his permission, was preparing to attack the north-east section of the city, when events occurred that rendered this unnecessary by its surrender. The circumstances under which this took place are recorded in the following memoranda from Gordon to the *North China Herald*, which narrates chiefly the salient points of the narrative. The orthography differs from ours, so the reader may notify that *mên* is *moon*, or gate; *Wang* king, or rebel chief.

It appears that on the 28th of November Gordon was informed that La Wang, Kung Wang, Ling Wang, and Pe Wang, with thirty-five Teenchwangs, or lesser chiefs, and their followers, had opened negotiations with the Imperial General Ching for the submission

of their party. These men had possession of four out of the six gates of Soo-chow, viz., the Chi-mên, Cha-mên, Chi-mên, and Lou-mên. Some difficulty in disposing of Mo Wang, who was averse to surrendering, was anticipated; but it was arranged among the other Wangs that he was to be driven out of the city gates. Gordon consented to the defection, but stipulated that Mo Wang should be given up to him as a prisoner. The strength of the positions held by these Wangs was so great that a very heavy loss was anticipated during any attack. The proposal to evacuate the city was therefore eagerly entertained by Gordon and the Imperialists. Meanwhile Chung Wang, who had been defeated at Woo-sieh, returned to Soo-chow, and proposed to vacate Nan-king and Soo-chow, so that the entire Tai-ping forces should go south to the Province of Quang-see, where the rebellion first broke out twelve years previously. The Mo Wang was averse to this, and proposed to remain and fight it out. The other Wangs not among the four leaders were likewise opposed to this proposal, but from different motives,

as they had already made arrangements for coming over.

On the 1st of December Gordon, at General Ching's request, met La Wang, who had been the first to propose surrender, and told him what he thought of the Tai-ping prospects and the little chance of success. He said that he wanted to make the Imperialists and rebels good friends. That since the rise of the rebellion the Imperialists had much changed, and did not dare, from the fear of foreign governments, to perpetrate cruelties as heretofore. La Wang, in reply, said he would see with General Ching what he could do about the city, and that he had no fear of either Mo Wang or of Chung Wang knowing of his having seen Gordon, for he had enough men well armed to keep both in check.

Gordon went in person on the 4th of December to see the Foo-tai commanding the Imperialists, and made final arrangements for making Mo Wang a prisoner as soon as the city should be surrendered. He had hardly returned to his quarters when General Ching sent him over two Frenchmen who had just come into the lines. They said that at two

o'clock that afternoon all the chiefs had assembled in Mo Wang's palace, and after dinner they offered up prayers, and adjourned to the great court, where, having put on their golden crowns, robes, and other vestments, Mo Wang mounted his throne and began an address, in which he stated their difficulties, and expatiated on the fidelity of the Quang-see and Quang-tung men. The other Wangs answered him, and the discussion got higher and higher, till Kung Wang got up and took off his robes. Mo Wang asked him what he was doing, when Kung Wang drew a dagger and stabbed Mo Wang in the neck. The Mo Wang fell over the table in front of the throne, and the other Wangs seized him and decapitated him in the entrance. They then mounted their horses and rode off to their armed followers, Mo Wang's head being sent to General Ching.

That night the Imperial troops having taken possession of Lou-mên, or East Gate, the rebels within the city at that quarter, shaved their heads around the margin of hair in Tartar fashion, as loyalists, and everything remained perfectly quiet. Gordon went to the Foo-tai, and represented to him the

danger that would arise from keeping the disciplined Chinese in a state of inactivity; and requested that, in recognition of their services, a gratuity of two months' pay might be given to each of the inferior officers and men. The Foo-tai refused, but after much difficulty and wrangling, Gordon persuaded the men to accept one month's pay as a *cum-shaw*, or present. Next morning General Ching announced that the Foo-tai had written to Pe-king, stating that he had extended mercy to the wangs and the rebels.

On the morning of the 5th of December, after the troops had left, having received the gratuity, Gordon started for Soo-chow gates, sending the steamers *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* to Woo-lung-chiao to meet him; as, from information he found in some letters at Mo Wang's palace, he expected to have been able to seize the *Firefly*. From the top of one of the gates he noticed a large crowd near General Ching's stockades, where the Foo-tai was staying, but thought that the Imperial soldiery were merely gratifying their curiosity to see the rebel chiefs surrendering. He saw La Wang in the city, riding towards the Foo-tai's camp, to go through the ceremony

of submission, and he then endeavoured to while away the time until the steamers arrived to take him in search of the *Firefly*.

Shortly afterwards a large body of men came up, and, passing the gate, rushed cheering into the city, as Chinese soldiers generally do into vacated stockades, firing their muskets in the air, and yelling. At this exciting juncture, the Imperial General Ching came up to Gordon, who observed that he looked unusually pale for a yellow-skinned Chinaman. He then volunteered the statement that La Wang, who had first proposed the surrender of Soo-chow, had not presented himself to the Foo-tai at all, to tender his formal submission; and that he thought he had run away. He further stated that La Wang had demanded the command of 2000 soldiers, and authority over half the city of Soo-chow, the division to be a boundary-wall. This the Foo-tai refused to do, while he secretly had allowed some of Ching Wang's followers to secure the gate left in his charge.

Gordon saw there was something wrong, and after much equivocation on Ching's part, he at length became uneasy about La Wang, and rode off to the palace, or Yameen.

He arrived there at dark, and found it completely ransacked. At the request of La Wang's uncle, he remained until two in the morning of the 7th of December, keeping off the Imperial plundering parties. Then he sent his interpreter, and a soldier to get the steamers *Hyson* and *Tsatlee* round to Wai-qui-dong, a station about five miles from Soo-chow. After the interpreter had started, the soldier who went with him came back and said that his companion had been beheaded by the Imperialists. Gordon remained until four in the morning at La Wang's desolated Yameen, and then went out of the city to send orders for his armed steamers to come up, as a threatening aspect was evident among the troops shouting and firing through the streets.

At this time the internal appearance of the once gay and luxurious capital, presented an appalling aspect. Along the main street leading to the centre of the city, not an entire dwelling was visible for more than a mile. On each side as far as the eye could see, heaps of bricks were piled in confusion, without a vestige of wood or other building material; and as no signs of fire were visible,

it gave evidence of having been destroyed when the Tai-pings captured and devastated the city four years previously. Most of the houses left standing in front of the street were mean dwellings, but at the rear were many of great size, having numerous spacious rooms, occasionally containing handsome furniture. However, they had all been more or less sacked, and the floors were strewn with scraps of clothing rejected as loot not worth taking away. Those of most value were skin and fur coats used in the winter season, which had been taken away in bundles over the walls; orders having been given that nothing should go out of the gates. A number of ponies and pigs straggled through the deserted streets; and many of the better class of houses had quantities of rice in the husk stored in their upper storeys. In the lower flats numbers of dead bodies lay festering, and some in the streets, but not so many as there would have been, had the city been bombarded and captured by assault.

Gordon remained within the walls until four o'clock on the morning of the 6th of December, and with a sad heart made his exit by the East Gate. Here the contrast

between the perfect order of the outer walls and mud breastworks and the utter desolation of the interior was very striking. Whether the guard of Imperialists did not recognize his person in the darkness, or they had strict orders to stop every one coming out, was not known, but he was detained by them for an hour, and then allowed to leave for General Ching's stockade. Here he learned the truth regarding the fate of the rebel chiefs who had tendered their submission after surrendering the city. When La Wang, Kung Wang, Sieh Wang, and Sung Wang had come outside the walls, they were seized by order of Lee Hung Chang, the Foo-tai or Governor of Kiang-soo Province, and beheaded, in spite of his promises to save their lives at Gordon's request. The atrocity of this proceeding caused the feelings of all foreigners to rise in abhorrence of treachery so gross.

The events culminating in that sanguinary execution are briefly noted in Gordon's journal as follows:—"*The Mow Wang would not surrender, and was assassinated in his own palace, and the other Wangs gave over the city, 4th December,* 1863. *They were assas-*

sinated by Li Futai on 5th December, on south bank of canal going from Soo-chow to Quin-san. (Note on margin of page.) *This is no place to go into the Wangs affair; vide Blue Books for account of what is correct in Hart's letter* (Inspector-General of Maritime Customs in Chinese service); *vide printed list of engagements*" (This list comprises all the actions against the Tai-ping rebels in the provinces of Kiang-soo and Che-kiang, numbering a total of seventy-one, in which Gordon and force count for twenty-four; the remainder undertaken by Ward the American, who was killed in action; British and French Admirals with seamen and marines, Admiral Hope wounded; Captain Roderick Dew, R.N., with H.M.S. *Encounter* and naval force; Burgevine and Ward's force; General Staveley and military force; Major Holland, M.L.I., with Chinese disciplined troops, who were defeated, &c.), "*and cities which surrendered after treachery at Soo-chow.*" (This foul deed caused Gordon to resign his command, but he was induced to resume it in order to prevent further anarchy.)

Meanwhile Le Hung Chang, the Foo-tai or Governor of Kiang-soo, who is now

Governor-General of the Imperial province of Chee-lee, and considered to be the greatest statesman in China, despatched a glowing report of the successful operations against the Tai-ping insurgents, in which he claims the chief victories for himself and the Chinese generals, while Gordon is mentioned only as assisting the Imperialists. The following extract is a translation of what was published in the *Peking Gazette*, the organ of the Government :—

"The Grand Secretariat has received the following decree :—Li Hung Chang reports that the army under his command has captured the city of Soo-chow, and exterminated (the rebels within the walls). The rebels had been reduced to great extremity, and those of them who were desirous of returning to their allegiance, together with the Imperial troops, entered the city, destroyed the rebel army, and so recaptured the province of Kiang-soo. The reading of this report has afforded his Majesty sincere delight and gratification.

"Soo-chow, the capital of the province of Kiang-su, was four years ago captured by the rebels, and has remained in their hands ever

since. The army, acting under orders from Li Hung Chang, captured in succession the lines of rebel works outside the city gates, and (so) struck terror into the enemy in the city, that urgent offers of returning to allegiance were made. On the 30th November, the Chung Wang, seeing that the attacks of the Imperial troops were daily becoming more vigorous, and that the rebels in the city were in a state of disorganization, fled under cover of the night with more than 10,000 of his death-deserving adherents; handing over the city to the old rebel Mu Wang (Fan Shao Kuang), with orders to defend it to the death. On the 3rd and 4th of December the naval and military forces under Ch'êng-Hsio-Ch'i, Li Ch'ou-pin, and Huang Yi-shêng, attacked the different gates of the city, keeping up day and night an incessant attack, which became more vigorous the longer it lasted. Gordon, also, established himself close to the city walls, and opened a cannonade against them. On the 4th December the Mu Wang ascended the walls to direct the defence; when at the head of his men, and in the act of issuing orders, a rebel leader, named Kao Ying-Kuan, who with others had entered into a conspiracy

with a rebel officer, named Wang Yü-Wei, against him, took him off his guard and stabbed him to death. After killing more than 1000 of Mu Wang's associates, they threw open the gates, and came out to give in their allegiance. Ch'êng-Hsio-Ch'i, with the troops under his command, entered the city, and having posted his soldiers, searched out and killed above 1000 of the surviving rebels. Li Ch'ou-pin attacked and killed great numbers, who were escaping by the Pan-Haên, and set at liberty several thousands of prisoners. The recapture of the provincial capital was thus effected."

(In the foregoing untruthful report, the redoubtable Hung Chang omits all mention of his treachery in beheading the rebel chiefs whom he had promised to save. His version, also, of the circumstances under which the Mo Wang was assassinated differs also from the one given by Gordon; and as our faith in the integrity and word of that pious hero is above all contradiction, we prefer his version as the true one. Indeed, it may be remarked that the Chinese, even of the highest class, are so much given to exaggeration, or perversion of facts, to suit their

own purpose, that they believe the false before the true.)

Then the decree furnishes a list of honours and rewards conferred upon officers engaged, the principal of which are as follows:— "His Majesty directs Li Hung Chang to take advantage of this victory to march with his troops on Chang-chou; which city, having been captured, he will join his forces with those before Nan-king, sweep that place clear of rebels" (*lit.* sweep the dens, and take possession of the pools), "and free the river of their presence. His Majesty commands the Board of War to confer suitable honours on Tsêng Kwo-fan, Minister of State, and Governor-General of the two Kiang, who sent a contingent to the recapture of this noted city. Li Hung Chang, since he entered office as Governor of Kiang-su, has displayed great prudence and calculation, and his skilful tactics have been completely successful; he has again and again captured cities, and gained honours on the field of battle; and now the recapture of Soo-chow by his troops renders him still more worthy of praise. As a mark of his sincere approbation, his Majesty is pleased to confer upon

him the honorary title of 'Guardian to the Heir Apparent,' and to present him with a yellow robe. Huang I-shêng, and Li Ch'ou-pin, in addition to receiving the hereditary rank of Yün-ch'i-Yu" (a title with fourth rank button attached), "are recommended to the notice of the Board of War. Ch'eng-Hsio-Ch'i receives the same rank as the above, and, in addition, is presented with a yellow robe. Gordon specially appointed a general in the army of Kiang-su, was in command of troops who assisted in these operations; his Majesty, in order to evince his approval of the profound skill and great zeal displayed by him, orders him to receive a military decoration of the first rank, and a sum of 10,000 taels." (According to the rate of exchange at the time, equivalent to 3300*l.*)

This money he refused to accept, as he considered it tainted as "blood money," for him to hush up the treacherous act of assassinating the rebel chiefs after submission. At this time it came to my knowledge that his means were at a low ebb, in consequence of having assisted some of his officers, who were "hard up." Be that as it may, his refusal of a gratuity from the Chinese Govern-

ment, under the circumstances, was the first public event in his career which indicated his natural indifference to wealth, and was commented on by every one as remarkable. The chief effect it had at the time was to silence his detractors, who had designated him "a mercenary soldier." I was one who advised him to accept the pecuniary reward of his services; but he replied that his pay was sufficient for his wants, and his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers was enough for his ambition.

A few days after the murder of the Wangs, Major-General Brown, who succeeded Brigadier-General Staveley as Commander-in-chief of the British Military Forces in China, went up to Soo-chow, and remonstrated forcibly with Lee Futai, with respect to the late atrocities. He announced his intention of permitting Gordon to act in future only in perfect independence of the Chinese local authorities. Under this arrangement Gordon agreed to resume his command of the Disciplined Chinese, especially as it would have been dangerous to the foreign community in and around Shanghai if they had been dis-

banded when the English and Indian troops had lessened by departures.

The next entry in his journal, after the fall of Soo-chow, states that—"*The force returned to Quin-san, which was continued as headquarters, and remained there during the winter of* 1863. *Started in snow and hail on the* 19*th February*, 1864. *Marched to Woo-sieh. Camped near pagoda outside city, at the foot of which the bodies of* Firefly *officers were found. On the* 29*th of February* (*leap year*), *attacked stockades of East and South Gates of Ye-sing. Captured them with severe loss to rebels, who evacuated the city on the* 1*st March. The force proceeds towards Li-yang; takes stockades at Huchias, and receive surrender of Liyang. March* 9*th*, 20,000 *are here surrendered. The place very strong, and well provisioned. THE HOUR GLASS BROKEN.*"

In the middle of January, 1864, a French officer, with a party, were sent on a reconnoisance into the districts devastated by the rebels, and furnished the following graphic but harrowing description of the country, towns, and people they passed on their route:—"We have just returned to Shanghai

from an expedition which lasted nine days, during which time we had almost been constantly on foot, up to our knees in mud and water, eating and sleeping anyhow. The country is mostly planted with rice and intersected in all directions with small canals. At about ten leagues from Shanghai, as we gradually approached the rebels, we found the ground obstructed with Chinese corpses. The towns were entirely depopulated, and often burned. Sometimes four walls, which represented a house, would be found to contain the bodies of men, women, and children, and the roads were literally strewn with corpses. Kah-ding, but recently a fortified town of 500,000 inhabitants, had nothing standing but its fortifications. Scarcely a thousand Chinese remained among the ruins. Wherever the rebels pass they leave their bloody traces. At first they took up arms from political motives, but then they became mere bands of robbers, who rob and murder indiscriminately, without any political pretext. They had but just left one town which we entered, and we found bodies of women and children still warm, and wet with blood. We were to stop here for the night, and I

set about hunting among the brick ruins for some house that still remained standing where I might find a bed, for the weather was wet and very cold. At last I found one, but turning over the coverings of the bed, a sight met my eyes that paralyzed me. A man and woman lay there, assassinated in the most frightful manner. A cord had been tied so tightly round their waists that their intestines protruded through the open wounds. It was horrible. This is what insurrectionary war is in China. The rebels do not wear their hair in long queues like the loyal Chinese, so that when on their predatory expeditions, they adopt the cruel plan of murdering every one who has his head shaved."

From the foregoing graphic description of the miserable condition which the country was in at this inclement season, it required all the vigour Gordon possessed to undertake further expeditions with the Disciplined Force in suppressing the rebellion. Nevertheless, he deemed it his duty to take the troops into the field, as a spirit of dissatisfaction prevailed among them while in a state of inaction. On this point he was in communication with Sir Frederick Bruce, the

British Resident Minister at Peking, who sent a despatch to Earl Russell, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, containing the following passage:—

"I received a private letter from Major Gordon, objecting to the precipitate disbanding of the disciplined corps under his command, on these grounds, namely, the probability of a considerable part of the force going over to the insurgents; the renewal at Shanghai of the state of anxiety and danger in which it was placed two years ago, and the repetition in its neighbourhood of the scenes of pillage and massacre from which the unfortunate inhabitants suffered so severely at the same period. He advocates the continuance of the aid given to the Chinese Government, that will prevent an officer from being placed in a position as he has been by Governor Li Hung Chang; and, in conclusion, remarks that corrupt as the Mandarins are, they pursue a regular system of government and administration, whereas the insurgents have no system of civil government whatever. The proposal that this force should be employed as a protection for Shanghai and the recovered districts is

in accordance with the views I expressed to Major Gordon in a letter dated the 22nd of November, 1863, of which I enclose a copy; though but for the misconduct of Governor Li Hung Chang, I should have been glad had its co-operation been continued until the line of the Grand Canal from Hang-chow to Chin-kiang was cleared of insurgents."

Further correspondence on this subject is too voluminous to quote more; therefore, as Gordon states in his journal, "This is no place to go into the Wangs affair," we shall leave that controversal topic.

That the most heart-rending destitution had long prevailed in the districts overrun by the rebel hordes was by this time well known, from the scenes witnessed by Gordon and his officers in their march through that desolate territory. The absence of all but military government no doubt conduced to the miserable condition of the people; the silk raised by the industrious peasants was chiefly appropriated by Tai-ping leaders. No doubt it found its way into the foreign market all the same; they did not hoard it, but sold it for money or for fire-arms and ammunition. Abundant proof now presented

itself that rebel rule was one of the most grinding tyranny.

With the fall of Soo-chow the chief difficulties in Gordon's way to conclude the campaign had vanished, shown in the evacuation and surrender of towns held by the rebels, given in his list of engagements as follows:—

Wu-sieh	Evacuated	December 13, 1863.
Ping-hu	Surrenders	„ 16, „
Cha-poo	ditto	„ 20, „
Hai-yuen	ditto	„ 21, „
Kah-shur	ditto	January 7, 1864.
Ping-wang	Imperialists	„ 9, „
Hai-ning	Surrenders	„ 25, „

In February he took the field once more, undismayed by snow and hail, and marched to Wu-sieh, camping outside the evacuated city, where he found the bodies, buried, of the *Firefly* officers who were cruelly murdered by the rebels, after the steamer was seized by the renegade Lindley and his piratical confederates. From thence he proceeded with the force to Ye-sing, or Yeh-shing, which was captured without any great loss on either side. His march from that city, situated on the banks of the Ta-ho Lake, was in a westerly

direction towards Li-yang, after which he proceeded northwards to King-tang; the garrisons of both places shaving their heads in token of submission. These operations had been somewhat extensive; the movements were rapidly executed, forty miles in one day having been accomplished between Yeh-shing and Li-yang. Unlike previous operations, they were all accomplished without bloodshed. The rebels at Li-yang, 20,000 in number, according to Gordon's journal, after having surrendered, proceeded to make arrangements for returning to the province of Quang-see, in the south of China, from whence they had come at the outset of the rebellion originated by Hung Siu-tsuen, an impostor who blasphemously assumed inspiration from Christian sources under the title of *Tien-wang*, signifying "Heavenly King." As Gordon's journal notes emphatically, by these movements was "*the hour-glass broken*" through his skilful strategy and generalship in execution.

From the narrow waist, as it were, of this military measurer of time Gordon now proceeded to strike at the rebels occupying strongholds in the northern expansion of

the battle-field. These were garrisoned by veterans practised in the guerilla warfare of the Tai-pings from the commencement of the rebellion, and hence were southern Chinese. Not only did they give a stubborn resistance to the northern disciplined force, but defeated it in the first onslaught, in which Gordon and several of his officers were wounded. The following brief entry in his journal records this engagement:—"*Pah-Cheaou now liberated with* 15,000 *men, and goes towards Nankin. He had been at the post of ruling Li-yang for two years, and was surprised at our march* (i.e. from Ye-sing). *G.* (Gordon) *starts with* 1000 *men to capture Kin-tang, expecting a surrender. Puts guns in position at South Gate. Breaches and attacks, March* 21*st. Rebels very quiet till moment of assault, when they show out strong. Repulse attack with great loss to us, who fall back.*"

Gordon having got the city of Li-yang into a state of quiescence, marched on the 16th of March with the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Regiments, and a proportionate force of artillery, *en route* to the city of Kin-tang, in possession of the rebels, situated about thirty miles to the northward, near the western lake of the Delta

group. By nightfall they reached a devastated village some twelve miles from Li-yang, where amidst the ruins a few houses still remained standing with roofs, which afforded shelter for the troops in preference to tents pitched on the ground saturated with rain. The line of march was on the main road between the two cities. On the right lay the spacious waters of the lake, with several bold hills giving variety to the level scenery; on the left was a broad creek, through which a flotilla of boats, bearing supplies of food, guns, and ammunition slowly rowed at a regular pace. The land lies low, and had all the appearance of having been a well-cultivated, fertile, grain-producing district; but it was then fast returning to that state of swamp from which the industry of ages had reclaimed it. Mulberry-trees lined the banks uncared for; reeds and other aquatic productions occupied the place of cereals; old walls and ruins marked the dwellings of a once numerous, peaceful, and industrious population, of whom there now remained but a few half-starved, cadaverous-looking creatures, prowling about with hollow cheeks, sunken eyes, and tottering gait, picking up

such herbs as were visible; while skeleton after skeleton, white and bleached, lay all along the way, felled either by the murderous rebels, or plundered and burned out of their dwellings, as they died from starvation. All along the remainder of the march to Kin-tang the same devastation, death, and ruin, was present. There was no indication of the soil having been cultivated for some seasons, and this was a district which had been in the undisputed possession of the Tai-ping insurgents for more than four years.

Unlike most of the cities in the hands of the rebels, Kin-tang had no outworks of defence, neither did the walls seem to be altered or fresh fortified from their original plan, like Soo-chow, Kah-ding, and others. On the morning of the 21st of March the boats with the guns were rowed into a basin to the east of the city, and about 500 yards distant from the walls, without any opposition on the part of the garrison, beyond a few musket-shots, expressive of their disapproval of the proceeding. The heavy guns and mortars were placed opposite the angle of the wall to breach it, while the smaller guns and mortars were arranged so as to

enfilade the *terre-plein.* The usual display of flags and shouting on the part of the rebels was entirely absent. There the grim black walls stood without a single colour, musket, or spear visible; neither were any long-haired sons of Han to be seen; but there was an ominous silence within the walls that foreboded either surrender or preparations for a determined fight.

At noon the heavy guns opened fire on the solid masonry, bringing down ponderous masses of stone, bricks and clay, at every discharge until, at the end of two hours, a breach was formed practicable to ascend. No reply was made to the bombardment, and not even a movement, on the part of the defenders. The advance was then sounded, when the 1st Regiment marched over a bridge across the city moat, and portions of the 2nd and 5th Regiments by boat. The companies vied with each other in the ascent of the breach; but scarcely had they set foot on the top of the wall when the brave fellows of the "forlorn hope" were overpowered by overwhelming numbers, firing musketry, hurling bricks, stones, fire-balls, and every kind of missile procurable at the front rank

until they rolled with the advancing main body to the bottom like a broken wave. Three times covered by the artillery, which did great execution, the assaulting party rallied and rushed up the breach, but with the same result.

Unfortunately at this stage of the engagement Gordon, for the first time in the campaign, was wounded, not severely, but sufficient to disable him, and had to be conveyed to the rear. Getting into his boat, he pushed forward and ordered Colonel Kirkham to come up with the reserve companies of the 5th Regiment. The breach was again mounted, but in vain. The defenders still held their ground, firing and fighting desperately, when Kirkham was also wounded and placed *hors de combat.* Major Brown now assumed the command, when the breach was again cleared by the artillery, and reserve companies of the 2nd Regiment coming up, he rallied the officers and men, and, carrying Gordon's flag, made a gallant attempt to establish his party in the breach. The struggle for mastery lasted for several minutes, victory waving in the balance, when the elements decided the day by a typhoon

of wind and rain. The force, however, encamped in the position secured for the night, and counted their casualties. Those among the wounded were General Gordon, Colonels Kirkham, Tumblety, Williams, MacMahon; Captains Mansell, Brinning, and Willson; Lieutenants Creamer, Raddimore, and another, Major Toute, was the only officer killed. Of the force, ninety rank and filk were wounded and fifteen killed. During the night the rebels made a sortie, and attempted to surround Gordon's camp, but they were received with such warmth of fire that they were forced to retire into the city.

After this repulse Gordon notes in his diary, "*Receive news that rebels have broken out of Changchou Fu, and advancing on Quinsan. Only two hundred men there. G. goes back. Falls on rebels' rear near Kwangyu, managing one hundred and fifty miles in two days, and draws their attention off. Owing to a blunder near Waisso the rebels gain victory with their cavalry, and killed three hundred men and some officers. March* 31*st, Squares against cavalry very good to drill at, but better to make use of. If the men had formed square no danger. G. gets more men up and*

attacks Waisso. April 11th, Drives rebels out, and 3000 *of them get killed by people and Imperialists. G.* (Gordon) *marches on Chanchu-fu.*"

"*In the meantime*" he learns that the rebels have defeated the Ningpo disciplined force, who "*were attacked at Hang-chow, and repulsed two attacks of the Franco-Chinese on the 9th of March, troops under D'Aiguebelle; who for some very wise reason, only known to himself, made his breach at a gate, so as to breach two walls instead of one* (*vide Hang-chow*). *The Chinese say that the fall of Kush-ing-fu caused fall of Hang-chow on 21st March. Politeness to allies would say differently.*"

"23*rd April*, 1864.—*G. takes with assistance of Imperialists stockades off West Gate at Chanchu-fu with little loss. Breaches city wall near South Gate on 27th April. Assaults twice, is repulsed with loss, and then sets to work to make engineer approaches. Kintang surrenders 25th April, leaving Chanchu-fu, Faijan, and Nanking, the only towns* (held by the rebels) *in the upper part of the HOUR-GLASS; and Wuchu-fu and Chang-ching, the only towns in the lower part of the HOUR-GLASS. The trenches* (dug before walls of

Chanchu-fu) *being ready, the breach is again opened on* 11*th May, and the place captured with but little loss.*"

The concluding entries in Gordon's journal, and list of engagements, dispose of the captures, defeats and surrenders at the close of the campaign in the following brief manner:—

Hai-ning	Surrenders	January 25th,	1864.
Ye-sing	Gordon and Force	March 1st,	,,
Ta-jow-ku	ditto	,, 3rd,	,,
Le-yang	ditto	,, 9th,	,,
Ka-shing-fu	Imperialists	,, 18th,	,,
Hang-chow	Franco-Chinese	,, 21st,	,,
Kin-tang	Defeat of Force	,, ,,	,,
Ye-chang	Evacuated	,, ,,	,,
Wai-soo	Defeat of Force	,, 31st,	,,
Se-men	Evacuated	April 7th	,,
Wai-soo	Captured	,, 11th,	,,
Chew-yung	Evacuated	,, 20th,	,,
Chang-chew	West Gate captured	,, 23rd,	,,
Te-zin	Evacuated	,, 25th,	,,
Kin-tang	ditto	,, ,,	,,
Chan-chu-fu	Defeat of Force	,, 27th,	,,
ditto	Captured	May 11th,	,,
Ta-yau	Evacuated	,, 13th,	,,
Chang-ching	ditto	July 4th,	,,
Nan-king	Captured	,, 19th,	,,
Wu-chu-fu	Evacuated	August 28th,	,,

"*Shih Wang and refugees from other places go down to Kiang-su* (province) *and thence to*

Amoy neighbourhood (in the southern province of Foo-kien).

"FINALE.

"*To Sir James Hope, Admiral, and Captain Dew, suppression of rebellion is due, not half enough of credit given to the latter.*"

CONCLUSION.

SOBRIQUET OF "CHINESE GORDON"—RISE AND PROGRESS OF REBELLION—ROBERTS ON REBEL CHIEFS — GORDON'S REMARKS — SHANGHAI THREATENED—HEAVY SNOWSTORM PROTECTS IT—GORDON'S SURVEY—INTENSE COLD—STIFLING HEAT—NO BARRACKS—TROOPS IN TEMPLES—MESS HALL—GORDON'S NOTICE FOR WORKMEN—BUBBLING WELL REFUGEES—GORDON VISITS THEM—HORRIBLE CONDITION—RELIEF—THE END.

THUS far we have Gordon's Outline Journal, which may be taken as the most accurate account yet given of the Tai-ping campaign. The modest estimate of his own share in ending the rebellion is characteristic of him. But history will record, what the Chinese Government at the time recognized, that to him was mainly due the safety of the empire, and the restoration of peace and order, after

so many years of civil war and insurrection. He was made a mandarin of a high order in the service of the emperor, but he refused all pecuniary rewards or recompense, and left China a poorer man than when he entered it. Among his many titles and honours, the one by which his name will be most distinguished in history will be that of "Chinese Gordon."

When we take into consideration the rise and progress of the Tai-ping Rebellion, previous to its suppression, it is the most formidable that has occurred in modern times, or indeed at any time in China, which has been scourged with sanguinary insurrections from remote antiquity. History records numerous rebellions in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, many of a fiercer character, and some ending beneficially for the people at large; but this was the most inglorious of all, from beginning with an impious mockery of Christianity to ending in the wholesale slaughter of innocent men, women, and children. For twelve years the Tai-ping rebels devastated the richest and most populous provinces between Canton and Peking, for 1000 miles from south to north, and eastward to Shanghai for 600 miles,

occupying the wealthiest cities without establishing the smallest foundation of a government, or one of their number capable of being a ruler. On this head I received a letter from the Rev. Issachar Roberts, an American missionary, who joined the rebels at Nan-king, from whence he fled for his life on board the British gunboat *Renard*, at anchor off the city. The letter has been in my possession since then, and has not been altered in its spelling, as follows :—

"NAN-KING.

"*From Rev. I. J. Roberts.*

"January 22nd, 1862.

"From having been the religious teacher of Hung Sow-chuen in 1847, and hoping that *good*, religious, commercial, and political, would result to the nation from his elevation, I have hitherto been a friend to his revolitionary movement, sustaining it by word and deed, as far as a missionary consistantly could, without vitiating his higher character as an ambassador of Christ. But after living among them fifteen months and closely observing their proceedings, political, commercial, and religious, I have turned over

entirely a new leaf, and am *now* as much opposed to them, for good reasons I think, as I ever was in favor of them! Not that I have ought personally against Hung Sow-chuen, *he* has been exceedingly kind to *me*. But I believe him to be a *crasy man*, entirely unfit to rule, without any organized government, nor is he with his 'cooly kings' capable of organizing a government of equal benefit to the people, of even the old imperial government!

"He is violent in his temper, and lets his wrath fall heavily upon his people, making a man or woman 'an offender for *a word*,' and ordering such instantly murdered without 'judge or jury.' He is opposed to commerce, having had more than a dozen of his own people murdered since I have been here, for no other crime than trading in the city, and has promptly repelled every foreign effort to establish *lawful* commerce here among them, whether inside of the city or out! His religious *toleration* and multiplicity of chapels turn out to be a farce, of no avail in the spread of Christianity, worse than useless. It only amounts to a machinery for the promotion and spread of *his own political religion*,

making himself equal with Jesus Christ, who, with God the Father himself, and his own Son, constitute one Lord over all!! Nor is any missionary who will not believe in his divine appointment to this high equality, and promulgate his political religion accordingly, safe among these rebels in life, servants, or property. He told me soon after I arrived that if I did not believe in *him* I would *perish*, like the Jews did for not believing in the Saviour! But little did I then think that I should ever come so near it by the sword of one of his own miscreants, in his own capital, as I did the other day.

"Kan Wang, moved by his cooly elder brother (literally a cooly at Hong-Kong) and the devil, without the fear of God before his eyes, did, on Monday, the 13th inst., come into the house in which I was living, then and there most wilfully, maliciously, and with malice aforethought, *murder* one of my servants with a large sword in his own hand, in my presence, without a moment's warning or any just cause. And after having slain my poor harmless, helpless boy, he jumped on his head most fiend-like, and stamped it with his foot, notwithstanding I besought him most

intreatingly from the commencement of his murderous attack to spare my poor boy's life!

"And not only so, but he insulted *me* myself in every possible way he could think of, to provoke me to do or say something which would give him an apology, as I then thought and think yet, to kill me as well as my dear boy, whom I loved like a son. He stormed at me, seized the bench on which I sat with the violence of a madman, threw the dregs of a cup of tea in my face, seized hold of me personally and shook me violently, struck me on my right cheek with his open hand; then according to the instruction of my King, for whom I am ambassador, I turned the other, and he struck me quite a sounder on my left cheek with his right hand, making my ear ring again; and then, perceiving that he could not provoke me to offend him in word or deed, he seemed to get the more outrageous, and stormed at me like a dog to be gone out of his presence! 'If they will do these things in a green tree, what will they do in the dry?' To a favourite of Teen Wang's, who can trust himself among them, either as a missionary or a merchant? I then despaired of missionary success among them, or any *good*

coming out of the movement, religious, commercial, or political, and determined to leave them, which I did on Monday, January 20th, 1862.

"I. J. R.

"P.S.—Kan Wang seems disposed not only to be a murderer, but robber also. He refuses to give up my goods, clothes, books, and journals; and though I have waited ten days, and he and others have been corresponded with on the subject, yet he retains all, sending me off so destitute that I have not sufficient clothing to keep me warm from the chilling blasts of a cold winter! And what is still worse, he refuses my two servants and assistant preacher the privilege of coming out of the city and returning with me to their families. And he and others inside have been trying every device to get me back into the city, in all probability with the design of either making me a prisoner or a corpse! And that without any just cause of offence on my part, and none whatever on the part of the assistant and servants. The most sotted heathen cannibals could not act with more cruelty and impropriety.

"R.

"*Renyard* steamer, January 30th, 1862."

When I read this letter to Gordon, he remarked that it corroborated all he had seen and heard concerning these cruel religious impostors, and trusted that he would have an opportunity in assisting to arrest the further movement of the rebellion. At that time he had just commenced the survey of the country around Shanghai, when I had many opportunities of conversing with him about the Tai-ping rebels and the progress of the insurrection. Although he was then not more than twenty-nine years of age, his remarks impressed me with their gravity, and pity for the poor people plundered by the ruffian rabble. In expressing his opinions, however, he did not give vent to any strong language, as many young officers were in the habit of doing; nevertheless, he spurned the assumption of divinity by Hung Siu-tsuen, who originated the rebellion, as that of a blasphemous impostor, just as he held the false prophet in the Soudan. As it was his pithy saying, "Smash the Madhi," though not in the same words, it was his desire to "Smash the Tien Wang."

At that time no regular force was formed to contend with the Tai-ping rebels near

Shanghai, consequently it was the all-absorbing topic of the day how to defend the settlement from their incursions. They first made their appearance in a northerly direction, near Woo-sung, the outpost, burning and sacking the towns and villages, while they brutally murdered many of the innocent inhabitants. They continued advancing towards Shanghai, when on the third day their flaunting flags were seen within a mile of the outskirts; while at night lurid flames flashed over the horizon from the buildings and farmsteads set on fire. All was commotion in the settlement. Only a few Indian troops and English soldiers could be assembled to form outposts for defence, while the municipal police patrolled the streets, armed with rifles and sword-bayonets, and the foreign residents had to guard their possessions with revolvers and other weapons in their hands, mustering their Chinese servants for defence, which was adopted at the *North China Herald* office.

This anxious state of matters continued for a few days and nights, during which the ships were crowded with wealthy Chinese, who offered high recompense to the captains

for refuge from the Tai-pings for their families and treasure. It was the depth of winter, which is as cold and severe in the latitude of Shanghai as in the north of Europe, when a snow-storm of unprecedented severity in the meteorological annals of that locality was hurled on the place from the Tartarian mountains, which providentially protected the settlement and suburbs. It commenced to snow heavily in the afternoon, and continued without interruption, day and night, for *fifty-eight* hours, covering the ground to the depth of *thirty* inches. The consequence was that all traffic on land was stopped, and impeded by ice in the water-ways. The thermometer continued below the freezing-point all the time, falling to 9° Fahrenheit.

As soon as the snow set in, the rebels retired to some towns a distance off, and formed entrenchments. The snow and ice held fast for three weeks, affording time for the arrival of reinforcements, and the construction of defences around Shanghai, which were effectually constructed before the rebels appeared again, when they were driven off, as recorded in the early chapters of this narrative. In alluding to this event at the conclusion, it

affords an opportunity of mentioning Gordon's expressed conviction that the snow-storm was an "act of Providence," to protect the place and people from the horrors of destruction and massacre by the Tai-ping hordes, who were reported to be concentrating their forces from Soo-chow and Hang-chow, on the walled city of Shanghai, and the foreign settlement, where untold wealth was stored.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the perilous position of a small party of engineers exposing themselves to attack from a well-armed enemy, Gordon set about his task, with competent officers and men, to survey the country around Shanghai with alacrity and zeal, as if it was to be a pleasant performance. As there are no hills in the environs of that city on the plain, from whence to take angles for a base of operations, they had to ascend some of the campanile turrets of the foreign "hongs" in the settlement, for the purpose of triangulation. The one at our establishment was between forty and fifty feet in height, and it will give the reader some idea of the almost arctic air at that elevation, when it is known that water sprinkled from the top was frozen when it

reached the ground; but Gordon, though slightly built, had a hardy constitution, and suffered no serious effects from exposure to extreme cold.

In like manner he was proof against the oppressive heat and malaria arising in that marshy region, where the atmosphere during the south-west monsoon is so saturated with moisture at ninety to a hundred degrees of Fahrenheit's scale that respiration is impeded by humidity, and the slightest exertion, especially when exposed to the sun's rays, prostrates the most robust person. Nevertheless Gordon continued his arduous labours at all seasons with unremitting energy during winter and summer, scarcely separated by two months of spring and autumn. At the close of the rigorous winter of 1862 the dense fall of snow on the high housetops began to melt under the glowing heat about noon, but its effects were arrested by the expiring blast of the north-east monsoon, which congealed the dripping water into gigantic icicles from ten to fifteen feet long, and proportionately thick at the base. Then as the lull came between the two monsoons these watery stalactites would resolve into

the liquid element, and at one bound the unchanged ice would be driven by the currents in the multitude of channels, open up the rice and cotton fields for cultivation. Shrubs and trees of all kinds then rapidly assumed their leafy verdure, when even those of the palm tribe shook their pendant leaves from the last snowflakes, and raised them in harmony with the heavens.

At this season Gordon made rapid progress in the field with his survey, but it was necessary to come frequently to Shanghai to plot the measurements or report to the General. In doing this there were some difficulties to overcome, especially in the absence of any proper barrack accommodation for himself, officers, or men; consequently most of them had to reside in native houses, or to receive the hospitality of the residents. The British and Indian regiments of the line were well cared for by the Chinese authorities by allotting spacious temples for their accommodation, and turning out the bonzes or priests, to find quarters elsewhere. Not only was room thus provided for some of the men, but the officers' mess was supplied with the choicest viands and wines, until they were

stopped by the General. It was a strange sight to witness these feasts, which we have done on the "guest nights," when the band would play in the vestibule where the devotees were wont to prostrate themselves before the image of Buddha, and perform the *kow-tow*. That idol still remained on his pedestal, surrounded by images of lesser deities, but of gigantic stature, looking down on the assembled officers who had usurped the seats in the sacred edifice, and were actually singing songs and laughing loudly, so as to awaken the echoes of the sombre hall dedicated to the worship of ancestors and the gods in Hades. John Chinaman, however, did not deem it any degradation to his creed for foreign soldiers to be quartered in his temples. On the contrary, he rejoiced in the presence of brave warriors who came to conquer the cursed Tai-pings, and was proud to do them service.

At such convivial meetings Gordon rarely or ever appeared, although the accommodation in the temples for the troops came under his supervision, likewise the Chinese houses in which the non-commissioned officers and men were quartered. On visiting these he

found that most of them were insanitary in their condition, many having only mud floors and leaky roofs, which were unhealthy and uncomfortable, especially in wet and wintry weather. On sending his sappers round the settlement to get native labourers, they returned saying that men could not be had, as they were all employed in erecting new buildings and extending old ones for the increasing requirements of the European mercantile residents for storing produce and merchandise, and rooms for their servants, all of which had doubled in extent since the advent of the British forces and the influx of native refugees. On this point he sent the following letter to the newspapers:—

"Owing to the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of Chinese artificers, and the large amount of work required to render the buildings occupied by H.M. troops weather-proof before the approaching winter sets in, I am induced to appeal through your columns to the mercantile community of Shanghai, and to beg them to assist me in the following manner, viz.:—

"1.—By their discontinuing for three weeks the construction of any large buildings

that may be in progress, and which absorb many artificers, or by sanctioning their contractors to diminish the number of workmen to such a minimum as will prevent their unfinished works being injured.

"2nd.—By using their influence with these contractors to induce them to send as many workmen as they possibly can to the Government Contractors, it being clearly understood that these men they send will be duly paid the best wages.

"I trust the community will see the necessity of affording the above assistance, which will go far towards mitigating the discomfort which such a winter as last year would occasion to the troops, if the buildings they now occupy are not made weather-proof before it sets in.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant, C. G. GORDON, *Capt. Royal Engineers.* Shanghai, 2nd October, 1862."

This notice had the desired effect, and there was no difficulty in obtaining native workmen to repair the insanitary buildings occupied by the troops. Moreover Gordon's communication led to some lengthy papers on the general subject being published in the

N. C. H., on the evil effects of the extreme heat upon the forces exposed to the malarious climate. The writers, both military and medical, took into consideration the heavy mortality, from epidemic causes chiefly to which the gallant troops, British and French —together with the civil communities—foreign and native—as well as the naval forces afloat, had been exposed in Shanghai during the summer then terminated. From the various registers of general sickness and mortality, all accounts stated that it had been without example in the experience of the oldest inhabitants.

But Gordon's sympathies were not confined to the better accommodation and sanitary condition of the troops, his heart was always open to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees who had been driven from their homes in the country by the ruthless Taipings to take shelter under the shield of British protection. On one occasion while discussing how relief could be best given to these poor creatures, he said that he had just heard of some dreadful cases of destitution among a number of refugees, at an old temple near what was called the "Bubbling

Well," a few miles from the settlement. He then asked me if I would accompany him to have a look at the place, to which I assented.

"On arriving at the well we got out of our sedan chairs, and stood for some time looking into it, and watching the gas bubbles coming to the surface, which gave it the name. Then we speculated on what could generate so remarkable a phenomenon, and having previously learnt that it was ascertained to be carburetted hydrogen, we conjectured that the bubbles came from a fissure in some carboniferous strata far down below the superincumbent alluvial deposit of the delta, so that probably Shanghai and its environs are upon the margin of a great coal-field. Suddenly we were aroused from our geological meditations by the dissonant sounds of Chinese musical instruments issuing from the temple opposite. Entering its precincts, we beheld a Buddhist priest in high canonicals, sacrificing a paper horse to his deities, which was consumed by fire, evidently for the purpose of furnishing some defunct Chinaman with a steed to journey through the next world.

"Everything about this small temple was

unusually clean for China, and the bonzes particularly comfortable-looking priests, apparently well fed, and gorgeously clad in embroidered silks and satins, while the decorations and images were of the richest description. We waited to witness a part of the ceremony, and were rather favourably impressed with the manner in which the chief priest read from a scroll in Chinese the service for the occasion, and the grace with which he made his genuflexions before an altar glittering with gold and silver, under the light of quite a galaxy of brilliant tapers. There was nothing gloomy about the place or the service, while the performers and the audience seemed amazingly delighted with the ceremony. With these favourable impressions, we strolled round to the rear of the building, where two other temples were situated, one of considerable size, painted red, and known as the Red Josshouse at the Bubbling Well.

"We entered the smallest temple first, and beheld a sight that, in the frame of mind we then enjoyed, struck us with sickening horror. In the middle of the hall sat a gigantic, grimy-looking image of Buddha, on

an altar covered with the dirt and dust of years. Around this pedestal lay a group of dead and dying men, women, and children in advanced stages of decomposition—poisoning the fœtid air inhaled by the few wretched people on the verge of death.

"Passing through this temple, we crossed a courtyard and entered the great red joss-house, which presented a sight that would entitle it to be named "The Chamber of Horrors." Here stood erect on each side of a spacious gloomy niche four hideous colossal figures of war deities, scowling from their pedestals with ferocious aspects. In the centre of the building, as usual, sat a gigantic image of Buddha, but with another deity at his side, standing up and clasping his hands with a benign expression of countenance. But the appearance of the human beings lying about on the filthy earthen floor was infinitely more repulsive than what we witnessed in the smaller temple. This was the great Lazar-House at the Bubbling Well.

"Here lay some twenty men, women, and children dead, dying, and diseased; huddled together worse than the filthiest beasts of the field, apparently left to perish without food

or raiment. One man lay dead at the foot of the altar as if he had fallen on his face in agony, and the flies and maggots were feasting on his carcass. Another was a woman who had died more calmly, with evidently her daughter hanging over her mother, as if to say, "Here let me die." Two other dead bodies lay covered with some matting and rags in a corner. Out of the remainder who had scarcely life enough in them to crawl to the door, were two children who attended upon their relatives or friends, but not a particle of food was there. One party, strong enough at first, had put up some mats so as to separate themselves from those who had died, but it was apparent that they were doomed to follow soon. The spectacle altogether was of that ghastly character which only haunts those who have nightmare dreams, and could not be found anywhere else in the world but China—the most wretched, diseased, and filthiest of nations.

"The horrible stench which prevailed drove us with a sickening sensation from the building, before we had time to relieve these objects of compassion as we should wish to have done. As we reached the road and

looked back upon this gloomy edifice, we thought what a frightful place it must be for any of its occupants possessed of sufficient consciousness to think of its horrors—throughout the livelong day to be gazing on those hideous images and putrid corpses, and passing long, weary nights in darkness, with hunger and thirst gnawing at their vitals, vainly trying to sleep, and listening to the groans of the dying, occasionally broken by the death-rattle of those who had just succumbed!

"And yet this ghastly Lazar-house was within three miles of Shanghai, close to the road which is considered by the foreign residents as the fashionable drive. Here, early in the morning and late in the afternoon, could be seen fine equipages containing the "beauty and fashion" of the settlement, and dashing equestrians mounted on splendid chargers. As they rode and drove past that spot we were sure that they had no knowledge of the fearful sights we have faintly described, otherwise something would have been done before this to alleviate the sufferings of these famished creatures, and get the proper authorities—Chinese or foreign—to bury the

dead. It is with this purpose that we have brought the matter before the public, and we trust that it will have the effect of ameliorating this evil, which is a disgrace to humanity and a reproach to Shanghai. A few bags of rice and the leavings of the rich man's table judiciously distributed among the Lazarites at the Bubbling Well Temple would spread gladness amongst these Parias of China."

As we anticipated, the publication of this account of Gordon's visit to the House of Refuge next day in the *North China Herald* elicited the sympathies of many charitable foreign residents and the British military force. Subscriptions were sent to the office for purposes of relief, one donor forwarding a hundred dollars anonymously under the signature of "A Frequenter of the Bubbling Well Road," and Brigadier-General Staveley sent a similar sum, while the officers and others sent smaller amounts, until a sufficient fund was collected. Immediately we applied the means to the most urgent ends, and forthwith went out to this temporary temple of terrors with servants carrying a large quantity of cooked rice, fish, vegetables, bread, and tea. Reaching the building, we found that

the six dead bodies had been removed, three of them buried in shells by the municipal authorities, and three by the *Tee-pou* or Chinese official whose duty it was to remove them. This resulted from Gordon having communicated in the proper quarter what he had witnessed on the previous day.

So far so good, the dead were cared for, but still the living inmates of the Lazar-house were in the same state of starvation as before. This was abundantly evident, for the instant they got the food provided for them rationed off they devoured it like ravenous beasts. We have no desire to dwell upon the sight—the dull, idiotic chuckle of some, the frantic joy of others, who greedily devoured the eatables. The tea they did not care for; it was "*Fan, fan!*" (rice) they screamed out that they wanted, showing that their appetites were not palled by disease. Instead of twenty, as we previously supposed to have taken refuge in the two temples, upwards of forty emerged from the various holes and corners, and of these only five were men, the remainder women and children.

On inquiry as to how they came there, our

interpreter ascertained that in every instance he found that they were refugees from their desolate homes in the environs of Shanghai, which had been plundered and burned by the Tai-ping rebels. They were all strangers in the immediate neighbourhood, and many evidently belonged to the better class of farming people. We also found, on inquiry amongst the inhabitants living close by, that this frightful state of death and destitution in the Red Joss-house was quite exceptional, and had only recently desecrated the temple.

For many days an abundant supply of cooked rice, cakes, and vegetables was distributed judiciously from the foreigners' fund by their servants. At last the case was brought before the Chinese officials in the walled city through the representations of Gordon to the Taou-tai, or chief magistrate. He sent a deputation of responsible men from an old charitable association in the city, who offered to undertake the task of relief. This association was favourably known to the community for its energy and discrimination in the distribution of a large income received from Chinese subscribers, aided by many well-wishers among foreigners. Accordingly

the management of the Bubbling Well Charity was handed over to them, with the most satisfactory results. Not only did they continue to feed those who had come for shelter, but many others afterwards, and when the cruel rebels were crushed, they were assisted to return and restore their homes.

This episode in Gordon's checkered career occurred about six months before he was appointed to the command of the Disciplined Chinese Force. His mind was then comparatively serene, being free from the care and anxiety consequent on the Tai-ping campaign, which afterwards clouded his noble brow. He mingled more with the civil community of Shanghai than he did at any other time during his career in China. Those with whom he came into contact noted the mildness of his manners and the pleasing expression of his features, especially about the eyes, while his smile was more characteristic of a fair lady than that of a fierce soldier; he was as a lamb on peaceful occasions, and a lion in the battle-field. Many remarked that he was more suited to adorn a drawing-room than to command troops in combat; yet to my knowledge he

refused all invitations to evening parties given by the foreign residents in the settlements; and on any occasion when the limited list of ladies in Shanghai were assembled, he seemed to avoid their society—so different from the young bachelor captains and subalterns who delighted in flirtation. Some of these officers being questioned if they knew the cause of Gordon's shyness in female society, jocularly replied that he had been jilted by a fair lady. Be that as it may, he said that his time was better employed than spending it in "spooning."

Before he took his departure from China at the close of the Tai-ping campaign, it was mooted by some of his friends and admirers that a valedictory address should be presented to him for his valorous and victorious conquests over the enemies of law and order, and the restoration of Shanghai to its flourishing position as the chief foreign commercial emporium of the Chinese Empire. Indeed, it was averred by some merchants in close communication with the native authorities, that when the rebellion had reached its climax, and the Imperialists were trembling for their lives, if Gordon succeeded in con-

quering the rebels, the British Government had only to ask for the cession of Shanghai, when it would be granted and become an English colony like Hong-kong. To all such overtures he declined making any reply; while he considered the return of the industrious and peaceable peasants to comparative prosperity as ample reward for his exploits in the cause of humanity. Nevertheless, the time has arrived when numerous projects are afoot to commemorate his heroic achievements, and it would only be an act of justice to his memory that the foreign residents in China should erect a statue of him in Shanghai, arrayed in undress uniform as an officer of the Royal Engineers, holding a cane in his hand, as a magic wand of victory, and the pedestal inscribed with English letters and native characters,

CHINESE GORDON.

GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.

CAPTAIN GORDON, R.E.

From a Photograph taken at Shanghai in 1862, *and given by him to the Editor at the time.*

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